

John F. Oates (1934-2006)

John Frances Oates, professor emeritus of classics at Duke University, died peacefully on June 24, 2006, after a long and debilitating illness, which he faced with grace and dignity. On the last day of his life he was still visibly enjoying the company of friends, and he talked sports with his student, friend, and colleague Josh Sosin in their last encounter.

John Oates was born in 1934 and earned the BA, MA, and PhD (1960) from Yale University, where his beloved teacher was C. Bradford Welles. He spent time as a Fulbright fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and as a Honorary Research Assistant at University College London. After teaching at Yale, he moved to Duke in 1967, where he played an important role in building the Department of Classical Studies and reviving its graduate program; he chaired the department from 1971 to 1980. He also gave generously of his time and energy as trustee of the National Humanities Center, Chair of the North Carolina Humanities Council, and in many other capacities, including a term as President of the American Society of Papyrologists (1976-1980).

He taught history at every level for nearly four decades and supervised dissertations in both history and papyrology. He cared deeply for his students and has influenced many in the profession. His research focused mainly on Ptolemaic Egypt, but he also made three remarkable and lasting contributions to papyrology, all of which reflect his strong commitment to standards, to transparency, and to making information accessible to both specialists and beginners.

First, he produced, in collaboration with R.S. Bagnall and W.H. Willis (and eventually aided by others), the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (see *BASP* 11 [1974] 1-35, for the first edition), recently supplemented by the *Checklist of Arabic Papyri*, which he set up with A. Kaplony and P.M. Sijpesteijn (see *BASP* 42 [2005] 127-166, for the beta version). Together, by standardizing forms of reference, the *Checklists* contribute clarity and cohesion to papyrological publication. Second, he made a fundamental contribution to papyrology by co-founding, with the late W.H. Willis, the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri. He was instrumental in designing, obtaining funding for, and supervising work on, this powerful tool for papyrological scholarship. Finally, in collaboration with the Special Col-

lections Library at Duke University, he oversaw creation of the Duke Papyrus Archive, a pioneering resource that presents in digitized form the almost 1,400 pieces collected at Duke since the 1960s. This on-line archive permits easy worldwide access to high-resolution images and to metadata for the entire collection. The first major papyrus collection to go online, this resource marks a revolution for papyrological research.

In July 2006, a month after he died, the American Society of Papyrologists arranged for music – suggested by his widow Rosemary – to be performed in his memory during a concert at the carillon of Harkness Tower at Yale University.

A Papyrus with Mathematical Problems¹

Marja Bakker *Leiden University*

Abstract

Edition with commentary of P.Col. inv. 157a, a probable leaf of a papyrus codex from the fourth-fifth century CE. The papyrus contains three mathematical exercises, of which not one is complete. The exercises calculate areas of plots of land.

Introduction

The medium-brown papyrus of good quality was purchased by Columbia University from M. Nahman through H.I. Bell in 1924 (no. X.92 in Bell's inventory). Side B is darker than Side A.² The fragment could be a page of a codex, because both sides are written in the same hand and have the same orientation. The handwriting is a rapid cursive. Because of several corrections and irregular spacing between letters and words, it looks like an advanced schoolboy's hand; see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996), nos. 155 ("overall clumsy appearance, but most letters are fluent") and 166 ("evolving hand"). The papyrus is broken off at top and bottom.

¹ This papyrus is part of the Papyrus Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, and is published with the permission of Professor R.S. Bagnall. It was assigned to me during the 2006 Summer Seminar in Papyrology at Columbia University, New York. I am very grateful to Professor Bagnall for giving me the opportunity to attend this Seminar, for his helpful suggestions concerning the decipherment and interpretation of this text, and for his comments on an earlier version of this article. I also would like to thank Professor K.A. Worp for his suggestions on readings, and my colleague Dr. F.A.J. Hoogendijk for her useful suggestion on the nature of the text and her valuable comments on an earlier version of this article. I am grateful to two anonymous referees for their comments and suggestions. Finally, I wish to extend my thanks to Leiden University, the Leids Universiteits Fonds, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for their financial support of my stay in New York.

² The papyrus probably belonged to a codex and therefore it is not possible to determine which side is front and which back. Since the content is fragmentary it does not help to give a definite answer. I follow the *APIS* website in assigning front (Side A) and back (Side B).

On Side A the writing is across the fibers and consists of 17 lines. The left margin is broken off, but in most cases the beginning of the line is preserved. The papyrus is damaged on the right side. Under l. 11 there is a horizontal line, dividing two different problems. The handwriting of the following text seems to be in the same hand (compare σχοινίον in l. 3 with σχοινίω[ν in l. 13), but the ink is less distinct than above the line.

The writing on Side B is along the fibers and consists of 17 lines. At the left side there is a margin of 0.5 cm. At the right side some fibers are broken off: the ends of ll. 1-5 are missing. The ends of ll. 6-8 seem to have faded away. In ll. 9-16 the right margin is preserved. The ink is less clear than on Side A.

The dating is based on palaeography; see C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.-A.D. 400* (Oxford 1956), pl. 24a (end IV CE), *P.Bodl.* 1.7, pl. 8 (Byzantine period).

P.Col. inv. 157a³

10.2 (W.) x 12 cm (H.)

Provenance unknown
Fourth-fifth century CE

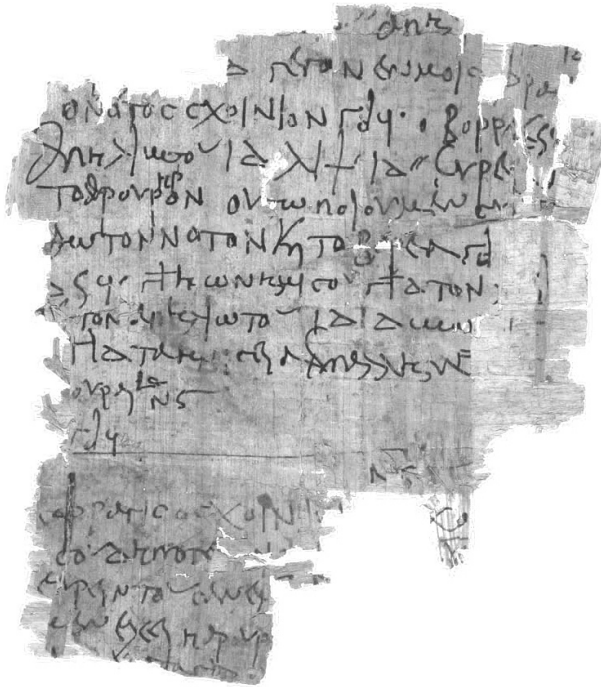
Side A ↓

-
- | | | | | | |
|----|---|--|---------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1 | [| |]. [.] . // | ἀπηλι[ώ]το[υ] ιδ | [Problem 1] |
| 2 | [κα]ι λ[ιψ ι]δ. Γέγονέν μοι σφραγι[ς·] | | | | |
| 3 | ὁ νότος σχοινίον γδ[ι]· ὁ βορρ(έας) δ[ι]α, | | | | |
| 4 | ἀπηλιώτου ιδ, λιψ ιδ//. Εὐρεῖν | | | | |
| 5 | τὸ ἀρουρ\ηρ/όν, οὕτω ποιοῦμεν· συνθ[ι-] | | | | |
| 6 | θω τὸν νότον καὶ τὸ βορέα, γδ[ι]α κα]ι | | | | |
| 7 | δ[ι]α/ γί(νεται) η, ὥν ἡμισου γί(νεται) δ· τὸν λ[ι]β[α] | | | | |
| 8 | κ[αί] τὸν ἀπηλιώτου ιδ ιδ, ὥν [ῥ]μ[ι]σ[ου] | | | | |
| 9 | [γ]ί(νεται) ιδ. Τὰ ἡμίσεια ἐπ' ἄλληλα γ[ι]νεται)] | | | | |
| 10 | [ἄρ]ουραι \ . . / νς vacat | | | | |
| 11 | [(. .)] γδ[ι] vacat | | | | |
-
- | | | | |
|----|---|-------------|-------------|
| 12 | vacat | νς | [Problem 2] |
| 13 | σφραγίς ο σχοινίω[ν ca. 3] | χο[ca. 4] | |
| 14 | [“Ο]σου δὴ ποτε [ca. 4] . . . [ca. 4] | | |
| 15 | Εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἀγεμ[] | | |

³ The illustrations are taken from *APIS* as follows: Side A (referred to as “front tile”): <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/dlo?obj=columbia.apisp946&size=300&face=f&tile=0>; Side B (referred to as “back tile”): <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/dlo?obj=columbia.apis.p946&size=300&face=b&tile=0>.

16 μεγ'χει ή άρουρ[α]
 17 .[...]... τασ....[]

3 σχοινίων; γδϸ' raised dot Pap.; βορ(έας); βορρ' Pap. 4 άπηλιώτης;
 λιψ' Pap. 5 άρουρηδόν, αρουρ\ηρ/ον: α corrected from υ 5-6 συν-
 τίθω 6 τόν βορέαν 7, 8 ήμισυ 8 άπηλιώτην 9 ήμισεα



[Problem 1] "...// (the) East 14

[and (the) West 1]4. I have a plot.

The South (measures) $3 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ schoinia, the North $4 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$,
 (the) East 14, (the) West 14. To find

- 5 the surface, we do like this: Add
 the South and the North, $3 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ and
 $4 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$, equals 8, of which half is 4; the West
 and the East 14 (and) 14, of which half
 equals 14. The halves multiplied by each other equals

- 10 56 \ . . / arouras
3 1/4 1/8”

56

[Problem 2] “(There is a) plot of 70 *schoinia* ...
Of how much, do you suppose ...

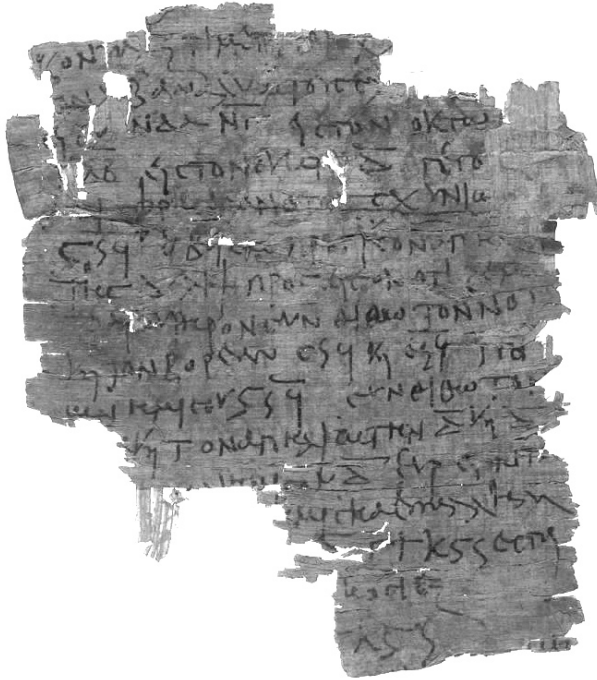
- 15 To find the ...
... the aroura has ...
...”

Side B →

-
- 1 . κοντα ξ. Τι μετρ . . οι . χ[ca. 6-7]
2 .. ν λ[.]β; Αναλύω τοὺς σχ [. . .]
3 εἰς . . νδα, νγ εἰς τὸν ὀκτώ ζ[ςζ],
4 λβ εἰς τὸν οὐκτ[ώ] δ. Γέγο[νέν]
5 μοι σφραγίς· ὁ νότος σχυνίω[ν]
6 ζςζ, ὁ βορέας πρὸς ἴσον, ἀπηλιώ-
7 της δ, λῖψ πρὸς εἶσον. “Οτι δὲ μέτ[ρον]
8 τὸ ἀρουρηρόν; Συνθίθω τὸν νότο[ν]
9 καὶ τὸν βορέαν· ζςζ καὶ εςζ· ιγδ,
10 ὧν ἡμῖσου ζςζ. Συνθίθω τὸν
11 [λίβ]α καὶ τὸν ἀπηλιώτην δ καὶ δ,
12 [γί(νεται) η], ὧν ἡμῖσου δ. Εὐρεῖν τὸ
13 [ἀρουρηρόν· τὰ] ἡμίσηα ἐπ’ ἀλληλα·
14 [ςςζ ἐπὶ] δ, γί(νεται) κςζ, ἔσται
15 [εἶ]κοσι ἕξ vacat
16 [γί](νεται) κςζ vacat
17 [] . . [] . μ.
-

[Problem 3]

- 2 λ[.]β· Pap. 4 ὀκτώ 5 σχοινίων 6 ἴσον Pap. 7 ἴσον
8, 13 ἀρουρηρόν 8, 10 συντίθω 9 εςζ: λ. ζςζ 10, 12 ἡμῖσου
13 ἡμίσηα

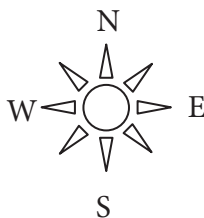
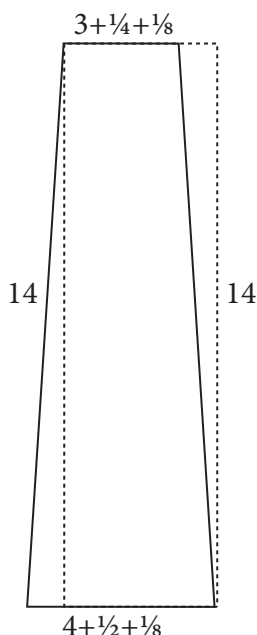


- [Problem 3] "... 60. What is the size (?) ...
 ...? I reduce the ...
 to ..., 53 divided by eight (equals) $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$,
 32 divided by eight (equals) 4. I have
 5 a plot. The South (measures) $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$
schoinia, the North the same, (the) East
 4, (the) West the same. What is the size of
 the surface? Add the South
 and the North: $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ and $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ (equals) $13 \frac{1}{4}$,
 10 of which half is $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$. Add the
 West and the East: 4 and 4,
 [equals 8], of which half is: 4. To find the
 [surface:] the halves multiplied by each other:
 [$6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ multiplied by] 4, equals: $26 \frac{1}{2}$, it will be:
 15 (...) twenty six $\langle \frac{1}{2} \rangle$
 (...) [equals:] $26 \frac{1}{2}$
 ..."

Content

The papyrus contains a mathematical exercise, in which areas of plots of land are calculated. There are three different problems on the papyrus, all incomplete, but of two exercises the actual calculation of the surface is preserved.

On Side A, the beginning of Problem 1 is missing. Perhaps this problem started with the division of the sides into another measure (cf. also B, ll. 2-4). Only the results (14) of the East and West sides are preserved (A, ll. 1-2), and these reappear later in the exercise (ll. 7-8). In l. 2 the calculation of the surface begins the same way as in Problem 3 on Side B, and the calculations are very similar. The end of Problem 1 is marked by the horizontal line below l. 11. The calculation on Side A is slightly more complicated than that on Side B, because the length of the North and South sides of the land is not the same. Still the same method of calculation is applied:



$$\frac{(3 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}) + (4 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8})}{2} = 4$$

$$\frac{14 + 14}{2} = 14$$

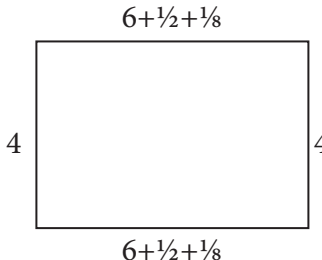
$$4 \times 14 = 56$$

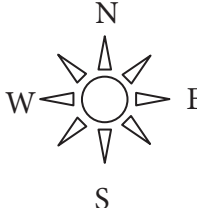
Mathematically this is correct only if we assume that the length of the East and West sides is the perpendicular distance (dashed lines) between the parallel North and South side. If 14 is the length of the oblique sides the area is

55.94.⁴ The applied method for calculating the area is called the “quadrilateral area rule,” and is used for calculating areas of non-rectangular quadrilaterals.⁵ This rule is approximatively correct in the case of nearly rectangular figures, as is the case in our papyrus (a difference of only 0.06 aroua).

Problem 2 (A, ll. 12-17) is very fragmentary. As in the other two problems a σφραγίς is mentioned, but something else than the area has to be calculated (Εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἀγεμ[instead of τὸ ἀρουρηρόν).

Problem 3 (B, ll. 1-16) is fragmentary at the beginning (ll. 1-2), and it is hard to tell exactly what is happening here. In ll. 2-4 the length and breadth of the plot are first calculated by dividing larger measurements by 8. Thereafter the calculation of the area is given:





$$\frac{(6+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{8})+(6+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{8})}{2}=6+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{8}$$

$$\frac{4+4}{2}=4$$

$$4 \times (6+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{8})=26\frac{1}{2}$$

The area of the plot is not computed simply as the short side times the long side, but as the half-sum of two equal short sides times the half-sum of

⁴ If the sides are a , b , c , and d , and a and c are parallel (where a is the longer parallel side) and b and d are the oblique sides, then the area (A) is calculated as follows:

$$A = \frac{a+c}{4(a-c)} \sqrt{(a+b-c+d)(a-b-c+d)(a+b-c-d)(-a+b+c+d)}$$

⁵ J. Friberg, *Unexpected Links between Egyptian and Babylonian Mathematics* (Singapore [etc.] 2005) 158. Cf. also J. Høyrup, *Lengths, Widths, Surfaces: A Portrait of Old Babylonian Algebra and its Kin* (New York 2002) 230, who calls it the “surveyors’ formula.”

the two equal long sides. According to Friberg⁶ this is a step towards teaching students to use the so called quadrilateral area rule.⁷

In l. 15, when writing the answer in full, the scribe wrote only twenty six and forgot to write the half.

Parallel texts

A parallel for this papyrus is the Chester Beatty Codex that contains mathematical exercises in Greek and part of the *Gospel* of John in Coptic (dated to mid III-mid IV CE).⁸ There are different types of calculations, of which pp. 42-43 (ll. 2-14), 46-48 (ll. 14-21) and 52-53 (ll. 13-18) are the most similar to ours.

The problems in the Chester Beatty Codex are all examples of applied mathematics and geometry and relate directly to daily life – how to calculate the volumes of a stone block, a trench, and a granary, the areas of fields, and proportionate sums of money in talents and *denarii*.⁹ According to Cuomo¹⁰ the administrative reforms in the fourth century CE included a new way of assessing taxability, which may have boosted the need for the services of surveyors as well as calculators. The kind of exercises in this papyrus fits well into this development.

Another exercise in which calculations on an area of land are done is SB 16.12680.¹¹ Here the calculation is somewhat more complicated than in our papyrus: the breadth and the area of a piece of land are given, and the length has to be calculated. The way to calculate this and the solution are then recorded.

Furthermore, the demotic PBM 10520¹² § 7 contains a computation very similar to the one in Problem 3: here too the area of a rectangular piece of land is calculated, using the quadrilateral area rule. According to Friberg¹³ there are

⁶ Friberg (n. 5) 158.

⁷ This strengthens the educational context of the text, see further *Scribal errors and origin of the text* below. An increasing degree of complexity could be a reason to consider Side B as the front page of the probable codex leaf.

⁸ W. Brashear, "Mathematical School Exercises in Greek," in *The Chester Beatty Codex AC. 1390: Mathematical School Exercises in Greek and John 10:7-13:38 in Subachmimic*, ed. W. Brashear, W.-P. Funk, J.M. Robinson, and R. Smith (Leuven 1990) 33-56.

⁹ Brashear (n. 8) 39. For similar characterizations of ancient mathematics in general, see S. Cuomo, *Ancient Mathematics* (London 2001) 214, and Høyrup (n. 5) 9.

¹⁰ Cuomo (n. 9) 215.

¹¹ J. Shelton, "Mathematical Problems on a Papyrus from the Gent Collection (SB III 6951 Verso)," *ZPE* 42 (1981) 91-94.

¹² R.A. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (London 1972), no. 64.

¹³ Friberg (n. 5) 159.

also many examples of the quadrilateral area rule in Mesopotamian cuneiform texts. He argues that there are close connections between the form and content of demotic and (non-Euclidean) Greek-Egyptian mathematical papyri on the one hand and Babylonian mathematical texts on the other.¹⁴ Cf. also Høyrup¹⁵ for Old Babylonian calculations on similar near rectangles.

Scribal errors and origin of the text

The papyrus contains quite a lot of scribal errors, mostly phonetic but in some cases grammatical.

<i>line</i>	<i>reading of papyrus</i>	<i>instead of</i>
A, l. 3	σχοινίον	σχοινίων
A l. 4	ἀπηλιώτου	ἀπηλιώτης
A, l. 5/B, l. 8	ἀρουρηρόν	ἀρουρηδόν
A, ll. 5-6/B, ll. 8, 10	συνθίθω	συντίθω
A, l. 6	τὸ βορέα	τὸν βορέαν
A, ll. 7-8/B, ll. 10, 12	ἥμισου	ἥμισυ
A, l. 8	ἀπηλιώτου	ἀπηλιώτην
A, l. 9	ἡμίσεια	ἡμίσεα
B, l. 4	οὐκτώ	ὀκτώ
B, l. 5	σχυνίων	σχοινίων
B, l. 7	εἶσον	ἴσον
B, l. 9	ε	ς
B, l. 13	ἡμίσηα	ἡμίσεα

It is likely that the scribe made these mistakes either while copying the text from an exemplar or while writing down the text as it was dictated to him. The possibility that the errors can be ascribed to a faulty exemplar¹⁶ is less likely here, because most scribal errors can be explained by the way the words were pronounced (except A, ll. 4, 8 ἀπηλιώτου instead of ἀπηλιώτης/ἀπηλιώτην). The ε instead of ς in B, l. 9 is a more complicated issue, but can still be explained as an error made while the text was dictated. Instead of the number “six” (ς), the scribe could have started to write ἕξ, the number six written in full. After

¹⁴ Friberg (n. 5) viii, 194, and 268. The connection between Babylonian and high level “academic” Greek mathematics (especially Euclid) is treated in J. Friberg, *Amazing Traces of Babylonian Origin in Greek Mathematics* (Singapore [etc.] 2007).

¹⁵ Høyrup (n. 5) 408 and 210-216, 239-244.

¹⁶ See the discussion in Brashear (n. 8) 37-38.

writing the ϵ he got confused and continued to write the $1/2$ and the $1/8$ sign. It is clear that he definitely intended to write a number here, because of the horizontal stroke above it.

This scribal error can also be explained as a misreading of the ς in the exemplar for $\epsilon\xi$, but there are no other errors that are obviously made by copying from an exemplar, as in the parallel SB 16.12680. In l. 7 there the scribe originally wrote a part of the following exercise, which indicates, according to the editor, that he copied the exercises.¹⁷ Brashear states that only the literary exercises were dictated, but elementary word exercises and simple addition, multiplication and division tables were certainly not.¹⁸ “Whether long mathematical problems such as these were copied or dictated is not something ancient authors thought necessary to mention. Hence further speculation on the topic is pointless.”¹⁹ At least in our case dictation seems the most likely explanation for the scribal errors.

It is unclear what the nature of the codex was, to which this sheet of papyrus might have belonged. Probably not to a mathematical handbook, because of the many scribal errors, the clumsy overall appearance and the concise formulation of the problems. Was it then a schoolboy’s codex in which he wrote down his exercises, perhaps not only mathematical ones but also, for example, Homer? Or did these mathematical exercises, written on a separate piece of papyrus, end up in a codex coincidentally, like the ones in the Chester Beatty Codex?²⁰ Since only one sheet of the codex is preserved and there is nothing but mathematical exercises on it, the first option is preferable.

Signs and abbreviations in the text

Whole numbers and fractions are sometimes capped by a horizontal stroke (e.g. B, l. 3), sometimes not (e.g. B, l. 16). In the Chester Beatty Codex the fraction is occasionally indicated by two diagonal dashes to the right of the cipher (Brashear [n. 8] 36); here this occurs only in A, ll. 2 and 4. The fraction one-half is indicated by a sinusoidal stroke, one-eighth by a sign that resembles the Coptic *fai* (ϣ), one-fourth looks like d. $\gamma\iota(\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota)$ is abbreviated

¹⁷ Although it cannot be excluded that the person who was dictating made a mistake in reading.

¹⁸ Brashear (n. 8) 38.

¹⁹ Brashear (n. 8) 38.

²⁰ “The mathematical problems were probably already in the codex if the monks bought it ready-made or already on the sheets of papyrus used by the monks to make the codex. Instead of deleting or excising the problems they simply wrote around them,” Brashear (n. 8) 39.

as ι̑ (iota with a horizontal stroke through it). Otherwise, only βορρ(έας) (A, l. 3) is abbreviated.²¹

Mathematical vocabulary

The following mathematical terminology often occurs in, or is specific to, this papyrus:²²

ἀναλύω εἰς	to reduce to
εἰς	divided by
ἐπὶ	multiplied by
συντίθημι	to add

Commentary, Side A

1 The writing at the end of this line seems to be a little lower than that at the beginning of the line. Probably the right side of this side of the papyrus (ll. 2-4) has to be moved a little up to the left (some fibers seem to be missing at the right side of the σ of σφραγί[ς]).²³ In l. 2 the stroke under the lacuna might belong to the φ, which, if moved to the left, fits right above the stroke under the lacuna.

2 The supplement λίψ seems short, but cf. l. 4, where the word takes up ample space.

3 The first ο of νότος has a little stroke at the right side, as in l. 6. If the right side of the papyrus is moved up to the left (cf. note to l. 1), the hole in the word βορρ(έας) disappears. βορρ is followed by an oblique abbreviation stroke, in the present line-up of the fragments separated into two parts.

4 The horizontal stroke of the first ε of Εὐρεῖν is missing. For εὐρεῖν in a mathematical exercise see PSI 3.186.v.12.

5 οὕτω ποιοῦμεν: cf. Brashear (n. 8), e.g. 42, l. 4: ποίει οὕτω.

5-6 συνθ[ι]θω: for θ instead of τ see Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.1:147. An imperative is to be expected, but this form is rare see Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.2:89 (καθίστω from καθίστημι). Morphologically an adhortative subjunctive is more probable: “let me add,” but a first singular is less obvious after the

²¹ And perhaps λ[ι]β(α) (B, l. 2); cf. note ad loc.

²² See for further mathematical vocabulary the lists in Brashear (n. 8) 37, and *P.Mich.* 3.145, pp. 46-48.

²³ Confirmed on the original by Professor Bagnall.

preceding first plural ποιούμεν. Brashear (n. 8) 42, l. 3, 6 etc. has the usual imperative form σύνθες, which is followed there by the genitive.

6 The scribe forgot to write ν after τὸ and βορέα. The vertical hasta of γ is not straight, but the reading of γ here is certain; cf. l. 3, where the length of the South side is given (γδϚ).

8 καί is missing between ιδ and ιδ, as well as the total of this addition: γι(νεται) κη (28).

9 The preserved writing looks like γι(νεται), but the ι must belong to the number ιδ, and the abbreviated γι(νεται)s are formed with a horizontal stroke through the ι, which is not the case here. Therefore I think γ is in the lacuna, and before ιδ the bottom part of ι (only a few traces of the upper part are preserved) and the right side of the horizontal abbreviation stroke are visible. Of γι(νεται) at the end only γ and part of the horizontal abbreviation stroke are visible.

τὰ ἡμίσηα ἐπ' ἄλληλα literally means: "the halves multiplied by each other." For ἐπί, "multiplied by," see Brashear (n. 8) 37, and *P.Mich.* 3.145, pp. 46-47, on the mathematical terminology of the papyrus: ποιεῖν ἐπί (with the accusative): "to multiply" (ἐπί with the acc., the verb ποιεῖν being omitted).

9-10 In B, l. 14 the multiplication of the halves is probably written out. At the end of l. 9 γι(νεται) follows directly after Τὰ ἡμίσηα ἐπ' ἄλληλα and there is not space enough to supply δ ἐπὶ ιδ, but perhaps the total νς and γι(νεται) was written?

10 The writing above the line after ἄρ]ουραι is problematic. Perhaps this is an abbreviation symbol for *arourai* (although not exactly identical with the symbols listed in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Siglae).

11 It is unclear why the length of the South side (γδϚ) is written here again. Probably there was nothing written before γδϚ.

12 The second number is probably Ϛ, with a rather long stroke to the right (cf. the Ϛ in l. 10). The number 56 corresponds with the answer of the last problem. It is unclear why it is written here, because the line above seems to mark the end of that problem. A possibility is that it concerns a correction of l. 13, written above the line.²⁴ Since there is a hole in the papyrus in l. 13 at this point we cannot be sure if this is the case. Professor Worp suggests that 56 might be the number of the exercise.

²⁴ This suggestion comes from one of the referees.

13 Perhaps something like “(There is/Given) a plot of 70 *schoinia* by *x schoinia*”? Another possibility is that the *o* should be interpreted as an article, and the scribe forgot to write <νότος>.²⁵ In this case the sequence is similar to A, ll. 2-3 and B, l. 5, but the γέγονέν μοι before σφραγίς is missing, and in what follows, the exercise is different from the previous two exercises (no other sides, βορέας, λίψ, ἀπηλιώτης, follow).

14 For ὅσου δὴ, “of such and such a size or number,” see LSJ, s.v. ὅσος III.2.

15 In A, l. 4 and B, l. 12 Εὐρεῖν marks the beginning of the solution to the problem. At the end perhaps read ἀγέμ[ους, “quarters;” cf. LSJ s.v. I.2.

16 ἔχω is listed as mathematical term in *P.Mich.* 3.145, p. 47: “to contain,” as in “the stater contains four drachmas.”

Commentary, Side B

1 . κοντα can be the end of a number, written in full. Perhaps ἐξήκοντα, which is written thereafter in shortened form as ξ?

Τί μετρ. . . : perhaps Τί μέτρον, “What size?” Cf. l. 7.

2 . . ν λ[.]β: Perhaps τὸν λ[ι]β(α), but it is unclear why the West side would be mentioned here. Another possibility is to read the number λβ (32).²⁶ In that case there is – unlike in λβ in l. 4 – some space between the two letters.²⁷ For ἀναλύω as a mathematical term, see *P.Mich.* 3.145, p. 47: “to analyze,” with εἰς (here in ll. 3-4) and the accusative: “to reduce.”

2-3 The reading at the end of the line is difficult. To read σχ[ο]ί[νου] would be grammatically correct, but mathematically it is problematic. The σχοῖνος is a land-measure (of 30, 40, 48, or 60 *stadia*), especially used in Egypt, see LSJ s.v.:²⁸ 1 σχοῖνος = 2 παρασάγγελος; = 60 στάδια; = 240 σχοινία.

The areas are expressed in *arourai* (cf. explicitly in A, l. 10) and obtained by multiplying the averages of the pairs of opposite sides, without any coefficient for unit conversion. This implies that the sides of the plot are measured in *schoinia*, as indeed the text says in l. 5. Probably . . νδα refers to a unit of

²⁵ I owe this suggestion to Dr. Hoogendijk.

²⁶ Suggested by one of the referees.

²⁷ The sign after β (') could then indicate the number?

²⁸ Cf. also A. Schlott-Schwab, *Die Ausmasse Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten* (Wiesbaden 1981) 135.

measure into which the measure at the end of l. 2 has to be converted. Directly hereafter follows the division of 53 and 32 by 8, and the answers correspond with the length of the sides of the plot, measured in *schoinia*. Consequently the numbers 53 (l. 2) and 32 (l. 4) are expressed in a measure that contains 8 *schoinia*.²⁹ Based on Friberg (n. 5) 227-228, reading of . . νδα in l. 3 as the Babylonian measure *ninda* can be considered: Friberg points out the same relation between the Greek *aroura*, *hamma* and *baion* on the one hand and the Old Babylonian cubit, *ninda*, and “reed” on the other.

Greek		Old Babylonian	
1 <i>aroura</i>	= 96 cubits		
1 <i>hamma</i>	= 12 cubits	1 <i>ninda</i>	= 12 cubits
1 <i>baion</i>	= 6 cubits	1 “reed”	= 6 cubits

Friberg notes that another name for *baion* is *kalamos*, “reed,” which is similar to the measure used in Babylonian mathematical texts. Because of the resemblance between Babylonian and Egyptian mathematics in general and the similarity in used measures as noted by Friberg, reading *ninda* in l. 3 is attractive, although there are no parallels for the use of *ninda* in Greek texts.³⁰ If we read *ninda* in l. 3, which is palaeographically possible, there is still a problem with τοὺς σχ [. . .] at the end of l. 2. Assuming we are dealing with the conversion of *ninda* into *schoinia*, raises two problems: (1) the neuter article τὰ is expected before σχοινία and (2) ἀναλύω normally means that you reduce the bigger unit into the smaller unit (cf., e.g., Hero, *Geom.* 5.8 ἀνάλυσον καὶ τὰ σχοινία εἰς ὀργυιὰς). In this case that would be the *schoinia* into *ninda*, but in fact the *ninda* are converted into *schoinia*.

3-4 The meaning of εἰς τὸν ὀκτώ could be derived from ἀναλύω εἰς; see note to l. 2 (for the occurrence of εἰς without the verb, see *P.Mich.* 3.145, p. 47). εἰς τὸν ὀκτώ then literally means “reduced into eight,” which must be in this context: “divided by eight.” If we divide the λβ̄ (32) at the beginning of l. 4 by 8, the result is indeed 4 as is written here. Unfortunately the number at the end of l. 3 is lost, but if we divide 53 by 8, we get 6 3/8. These numbers 4 and 6 3/8 (= 6 1/2 1/8) are the same as the length of the North/South sides (6 1/2

²⁹ One of the referees noted that if we assume 1 *schoinos* = 30 *stadia* (instead of 60) and 1 *schoinos* = 240 *schoinia*, then 1 *stadion* = 8 *schoinia*. This ratio between *stadion* and *schoinia* is relevant, but palaeographically στάδια is not possible.

³⁰ It is not attested in LSJ and is not found in the *TLG* and *DDBDP* (accessed November 2007).

1/8), or the East/West sides (4) in the rest of the exercise. For a suggestion why the numbers in these lines are divided by 8, see note to ll. 2-3. The masculine article is problematic; see D.H. Fowler, *The Mathematics of Plato's Academy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1999) 232: a neuter singular article is expected.

7 ὅτι δὲ μέτ[ρον]: the bottom stroke of the *delta* is missing. For ὅτι in a direct question, see LSJ s.v. ὅστις III.2. Perhaps cf. τί μέτρον in l. 1.

8, 10 On the form συνθίω see note to A, ll. 5-6.

9 For the calculation to be correct the amounts in ll. 6, 9, and 10 should be the same. But the scribe seems to have made an error in writing the second amount: the first letter looks more like ε than ς. The 1/2 sign has an extra dash to the right at the bottom. Perhaps the scribe started to write ἕξ, the number six written in full (see *Scribal errors and origin of the text* above)? There is no γί(νεται) written before the total.

12 At the beginning there seems to be a lot of room for γί(νεται) η, but cf. the γί(νεται) in l. 14.

13 τὰ ἡμίσηα ἐπ' ἄλληλα cf. note to A, l. 9.

15 The answer to this problem is written in full in the middle of the line (cf. Brashear [n. 8] 39: "... the subtotals ... are repeated ... or otherwise unnecessarily – and redundantly – written out"). I do not think that there was something written before εἴκοσι. The scribe forgot to write the half (ἡμισ(ο)ν) here: the surface is 26 1/2.

16 Again the answer, written in numbers in the middle of the line. Of the γί(νεται) is only part of the horizontal stroke visible; cf. the γί(νεται) in l. 14.

P.Vindob. G 26079: A Parchment Codex Fragment of LXX *Ecclesiastes* 1:14-17¹

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Abstract

Edition of a fifth-century fragment of a small parchment codex that contained (at least) the book of *Ecclesiastes* in Greek.

This triangular fragment (H x W = 4.5 x 3.5 cm) preserves the top corner of a page from a small parchment codex that contained the book of *Ecclesiastes*.² On the front side (hair side) the upper outside corner of the page is missing with the tear running diagonally from this corner down to the left margin about two thirds of the way down the page. No pagination can be detected on the front side of the fragment, although it is possible that it was placed in the upper outside corner that is missing. On the back side (flesh side) of the fragment in the upper inside corner an η is readily visible above the first line of text. Given its placement in the interior margin it is unlikely that it represents the page number since pagination was usually placed either in the center or outside edge of the upper margin.³ It is therefore more likely that the η represents the quire number since such “gathering numbers” were placed in the upper inside margin.⁴ However, given that most remains of miniature Greek codices

¹ I studied the fragment from photos during the Papyrological Summer Institute at the University of Cincinnati in 2005. I would like to thank Dr. Cornelia Römer for looking at the original and providing help with the transcription.

² It was acquired by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in 1881-1884.

³ E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 76-77. For a paginated fragment of a miniature codex of 6 *Ezra* with accompanying discussion of the page numbering see *P.Oxy.* 7.1010 (IV AD). In this fragment, the pagination is placed in the center of the upper margin and contains a supralinear stroke. If the η on the back side of the present fragment represents the page number it would mean that the preceding seven pages contained the first fifteen verses of *Ecclesiastes*, which is not unrealistic given that the codex appears to have contained about two verses per page.

⁴ Turner (n. 3) 77-78. He notes that in instances where quire numbers are placed in the upper inside margins they may be accompanied by page numbers, which usually tend

are extremely fragmentary, only rarely containing more than just a fragment, page, or double page, generalizing about pagination and quire numbering is very speculative.

There are no signs of rulings or prickings on the fragment and the writing on the hair side of the fragment is quite worn and less discernible than the writing on the flesh side. For the most part the letters are formed regularly and written with a clear uncial hand, although in some cases the respective sizes of the letters vary at the end of a line. The letters are round and upright and appear to constitute a late form of biblical uncial. The hand is not earlier than Siniaticus or Vaticanus (ca. AD 350) and probably not later than the Vienna Dioscurides (ca. 513).⁵ While it is difficult to assign a precise date to this fragment, given that certain letters display signs of transformation common in the fifth century – the diagonal strokes of Δ, K, M, Y, are conspicuously thicker than in other letters and decorative roundels appear at the ends of the cross bar on the T – a mid-fifth century date seems most probable.⁶

Another text from the Vienna collection that may have some bearing on the present fragment is P.Vindob. G 3077, which contains *Proverbs* 26:11, 17–18.⁷ The handwriting on this fragment is remarkably similar, it comes from a small parchment codex, and it contains *eisthesis* (indentation) similar to that found in the present fragment. It has been dated to the mid-fifth century (ca. 475).⁸ Despite the many similarities, which suggest that the two fragments may have come from the same codex (*Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* would have formed a nice pair), the writing on P.Vindob. G 3077 is slightly larger than the writing on the present fragment. This probably indicates that the two pieces did not actually come from the same codex, but it is possible that the present fragment has shrunk or that it came from the end of the codex or quire when the scribe knew he was running out of space and wrote in a smaller hand.

The average letter width in the fragment is 0.275 cm and the line spacing is consistent throughout at approximately 0.4 cm per line. The front side of

to appear in the upper outside margin. If η is the gathering number and assuming that the codex was made up of *quaterniones*, then up to this point the codex contained some 128 pages (16 pages for every quire and at least 8 sets of quires). This would mean that some other work(s) preceded *Ecclesiastes* in this codex. For gathering arrangements in codices see Turner (n. 3) 55–66.

⁵ G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* (London 1987) no. 25b; G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Firenze 1967) 76–84.

⁶ Cavallo and Maehler (n. 5) nos. 18ab and 24abc.

⁷ P.Vindob. G 3077 = *MPER* NS 4.25.

⁸ P. Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica. Materiali per un aggiornamento* (Cassino 2005) 255 (illustrated on Tav. XVII).

the fragment likely contained about 12 lines based on a reconstruction of the missing text between front and back side of the fragment. The left margin is periodically indented with short lines preceding full lines that mark the beginning of a verse or half verse. The same phrasing is also attested in a papyrus codex of the third century that contains the entire book of *Ecclesiastes*.⁹ The top margin of the fragment is 1 cm and side margins 0.5 cm, so that the dimensions of the codex may have been approximately 7.5 cm x 5 cm. These dimensions place this codex within Turner's Group XIV of miniature parchment codices, where the closest parallel in size is *P.Mich.* 3.132 (*Psalms*, V AD?).¹⁰ Given its very small size it is likely that this codex was manufactured and employed primarily for private reading.¹¹

That this *Ecclesiastes* fragment is of Christian, and not Jewish, provenance, is confirmed by the occurrence of a *nomen sacrum* – apart from the fact that it is written on a codex and not on a roll. In l. 1 on the front of the fragment the *nomen sacrum* for πνεῦμα (πνς) occurs. In ll. 3-4 on the back of the fragment the first and last two letters of the word “Jerusalem” are preserved with a lacuna in the middle; however, no supralinear stroke can be detected and based on the spacing of the lacuna it appears that the word was written out in full.¹²

The extant text of *Ecclesiastes* 1:14-17 preserved on the fragment accords with Rahlfs' edition of the LXX with no apparent text critical problems.¹³ Line 1 on the front side preserves the last part of v. 14 and begins in the middle of προαίρεσις. Verse 15 then occupies most of the front side, and on the final line the first two letters of the first word in v. 16 are visible. While the first half of this verse is largely missing, the second half begins on the back of the fragment. In the final line on the back only one letter from v. 17 is visible.

⁹ B.J. Diebner and R. Kasser, *Hamburger Papyrus Bil. 1* (Genève 1989). In this text two horizontal strokes (=) are typically inserted between words where the verse and half verse occurs.

¹⁰ Turner (n. 3) 29-30.

¹¹ L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids 2006) 155-165; H.A. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven 1995) 231-237 (especially 236).

¹² In the Hamburg papyrus edited by Diebner and Kasser (n. 9), “Jerusalem” is contracted in *Ecclesiastes* 1:16. J. O'Callaghan, *Nomina Sacra in Papyris Graecis Saeculi III Neotestamentariis* (Rome 1970) 28-31, 48, notes that the word “Jerusalem” is peculiar and is abbreviated on some occasions but not on others.

¹³ The Hamburg papyrus edited by Diebner and Kasser (n. 9), which was not used in Rahlfs' edition, contains no differences and agrees with the text of the present fragment.

Three Unpublished Documents from the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

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Abstract

An edition and commentary of three Greek papyri in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto: *PFay.* 155, *PFay.* 307, and *POxy.* 3.637. All were described briefly by Grenfell and Hunt but not published in full.

The following three Greek papyri, now housed in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto, were originally acquired through an Egypt Exploration Fund subscription by Victoria University (Toronto, Canada).¹ Since 1979 all of the pieces have been put on permanent loan from Victoria to the Fisher Library.² Although most of the material in this small collection has been published in *PFay.*, *POxy.* or *PHibeh*, there remain a handful of Fayyum and Oxyrhynchus documents that were described by Grenfell and Hunt but not published in full. In addition to these earliest *descripta*, further descriptions of all three documents were made by Frank Beare at Victoria University, and by M.M. Sadek in a 1966 MA thesis written under the direction of Prof. Fritz Heichelheim.³ Sadek had access to Grenfell and Hunt's early transcriptions of the documents, and usefully included reproductions of them in the text of the thesis.

¹ I would like to thank Alexander Jones and Rodney Ast for their help with this paper. Anne Dondertman and Linda Joy of the Fisher Library have also been of great assistance in providing images and access to the papyri themselves. Finally, I am especially grateful to the anonymous readers of *BASP* for saving me from numerous (novice) errors and oversights. All dates are AD unless otherwise stated.

² The EES subscription was arranged by C.T. Currelly, N. Burwash (principal of Victoria University), and G.W. Burwash (a classmate of Currelly's at Toronto). Through the efforts of Rodney Ast, all of these documents in the Fisher Library have been digitized and their images put on *APIS* along with revised and updated descriptions.

³ M.M. Sadek, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek Papyri in Victoria University and University of Toronto Libraries* (MA thesis, University of Toronto 1966).

1. *Loan Through a Bank**P.Fay.* 155

15.6 x 9.8 cm

Bacchias

APIS ID: toronto.apis.19

26 May – 24 June 136

This document, a bank *diagraphe*, was briefly described by Grenfell and Hunt in *P.Fay.* (p. 297) among the texts from Bacchias (Umm el ‘Atl), but was not published in full. It is very mutilated and contains several substantial holes and areas where text has been abraded. The text is written in a cursive hand with a slight rightward slant along the fibres. The back is blank. There are preserved margins on the left (2 cm), at the top (2 cm), and at the bottom (5.6 cm), where there is a horizontal line just below l. 14. The text is dated to the 20th year of Hadrian in the month of Payni, but the exact day has been lost. This *diagraphe* is highly formulaic and bears a strong resemblance to several other texts from the same time, particularly *P.Tebt.* 2.389 (141) and *P.Col.* 10.259 (146),⁴ as well as a series of *diagraphai* published as *P.Stras.* 7.628 (ca. 140).⁵ For a list of banks in the Arsinoite nome, see Bogaert (n. 5) 138-151, and in the Stoa of Athena in particular, p. 142, no. 22. Unlike *P.Col.* 10.259, there is no cross hatching on this light-coloured papyrus document to indicate that the loan was paid back in the following year.

- Ἔτους [ε]ἰκοστοῦ Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος Καίσαρος
 Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [Σ]εβαστοῦ
 Παῦν[ι .(.)] διὰ τῆς Μαρίω[ν]ος τραπε-
 4 ζης στοᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς. Ἀρπ[ο]κ[ρ]ατίων
 Διονυσίου Σοφο φ . [.] . . [.]
 . . [.] . φως μητρὸς . [.]
 ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς Ἀρσινόων π[ό]λεως (ἐτῶν) [. (.) ο(ὐλή) ἀσ-]
 8 τραγάλῳ ποδὸς ἀριστεροῦ χ[ρ]ῆσιν ἔν-]
 τ[ό]κον κεφαλ[αίου] ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) τετ[σαράκον]τα

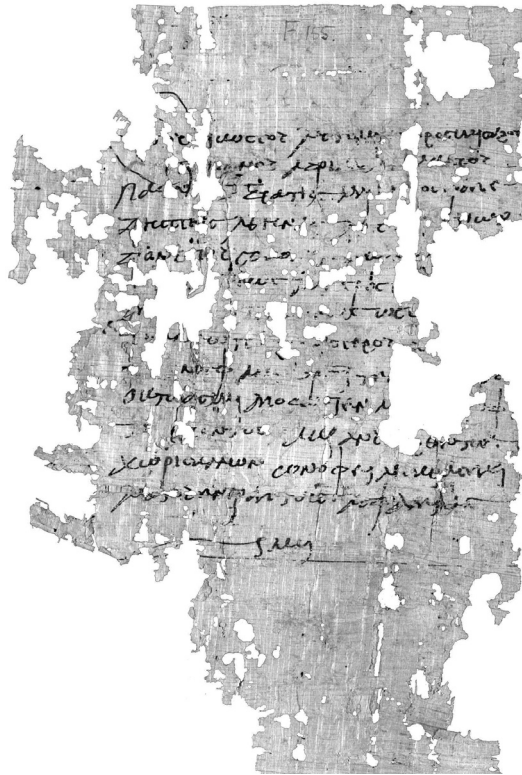
⁴ J.A. Sheridan, “Loan through a Bank”, *BASP* 23 (1985) 149-153, republished as *SB* 18.13313.

⁵ For discussion of Roman banking, see R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca. Recueil de recherches sur la banque en Égypte gréco-romaine* (Firenze 1994); “Les opérations des banques de l’Égypte romaine,” *AncSoc* 30 (2000) 135-269; “Les documents bancaires de l’Égypte gréco-romaine et byzantine,” *AncSoc* 31 (2001) 173-288; and “Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l’Égypte romaine, 30^a-284,” *ZPE* 109 (1995) 133-173. For the function and structure of *diagraphai*, see H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens*, vol. 2 (München 1978) 29-30 and 95-105, and P. Drewes, “Die Bankdiagraphe in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri,” *JJP* 18 (1974) 95-155, esp. 140-152.

ὀκτώ ἄς καὶ ἀποδώσι ἐν μηνὶ Φαῳφι
 το[ῦ ἐ]ισιόντος κα (ἔτους) ἀνυ[πε]ρθέτως
 12 χωρίς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφείλι καθ' ἄς ἔχι
 αὐτοῦ ἐνγράφτους ἀσφαλείας
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μη

10 ἀποδώσει 12 ὀφείλει; ἔχει

“In the twentieth year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Pauni x, through the bank of Marion of the Stoa of Athena. Harpokration, son of Dionysios, to Soko-(?) son of ... [grandson of ...] whose mother is ... aged ... years with a scar on the ankle bone of his left foot, (acknowledges that he has received) an interest-bearing loan of a principal of forty-eight silver drachmas, which he will repay in the month of Phaophi of the coming twenty-first year (of Hadrian) forthwith, separate from the other things that he (the debtor) owes according to the written sureties he (the creditor) has. Totals 48 drachmas.”



3-4 διὰ τῆς Μαρίω[ν]ος τραπεζῆς στοᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς: Although Grenfell and Hunt as well as *APIS* identified “Maron (?)” as the banker, the correct reading must be Μαρίων. This same bank also appears in *P.Gen.* 2.102 (125-129), where it is said to be in Arsinoe and, on the strength of the present document, can be put in the same στοᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς. Several banks in the Stoas Athenas are attested, including *P.Col.* 10.259.5, *Chr.Mitt.* 176.5-6 (166), *CPR* 1.206.10 (138-161), 231.2, and *SB* 22.15472.46-48 (134).⁶ Another banker, Dioxenos alias Sarapion, was also active in the Stoas Athenas from the later 140s onward (Bogaert, “Liste géographique” [note 5] 142, no. 22).

5 Σοκο : Though traces follow the first three letters of the creditor’s name, it cannot be read with any certainty. Likely, however, are the dative forms of either Σοκομήνις or Σοκονῶπις, both attested for the second century. As suggested by the close parallel *P.Col.* 10.259.5-7, the names of the creditor’s father and grandfather will have followed.

7-8 The full age of the borrower (or perhaps the lender) is lost. For a similar identification in a loan, including the scar on the foot, see, e.g., *P.Sakaon* 95.3-4 (= *SB* 8.9916): οὐρῇ ἐπάνω | ἀστραγάλω ποδὸς δεξιῶ.

8-14 The main verb is understood, but not stated, in the loan agreement just as it is in *P.Col.* 10.259 and *P.Tebt.* 2.389.

8-9 χ[ρῆσιν ἐν]τ[οκο]ν: For this very common expression in *diagraphai*, see, e.g., *P.Col.* 10.259.10, *P.Stras.* 5.344.10, 374.5, 382.3, and 383.9. The adjective ἐντοκον indicates not that the interest is included in the principal, but that the loan is subject to interest payments at the standard rate of 12%. On this, see P.W. Pestman, “Loans Bearing no Interest?” *JJP* 16 (1971) 7-29, esp. 10-12, and *P.Col.* 10.259, (p. 44).

13 ἐνγράφτους ἀσφαλείας: The lender here secures the repayment of present loan in respect to the borrower’s other outstanding debts. For nearly the same wording as the present document, see *M.Chr.* 174.24-5 (= *PLond.* 2.336, p. 167): χωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφείλουσι καθ’ ἃς ἔχει αὐτῶν ἐνγράφτους ἀ[σ]φαλ[εία]ς.

14 There is a straight line immediately beneath the statement of the amount of the loan that appears to extend across the width of the document.

⁶ *Ed. pr.* = P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, “Ein Hausverkauf aus Soknopaiu Nesos (*PLond.inv.* 1976),” in R. Feenstra et al. (eds.), *Collatio iuris Romani. Études dédiées à Hans Ankum à l’occasion de son 65^e anniversaire*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam 1995) 513ff, esp. notes on 525.

2. *An Application to Lease Land**P.Fay.* 307

18.2 x 5.9 cm

Philoteris

APIS ID: apis.toronto.10

9 July 132

This document, an application to lease land in the village of Philoteris in the Fayyum, was described but not published in full by Grenfell and Hunt among the papyri from Wadfa (*P.Fay.*, p. 309). In it a prospective tenant asks Didas and Demetrous to lease a plot of land to him at the rate of 25 artabas per year excluding seed, a request to which Didas (representing Demetrous as husband or guardian) assents at the end of the document, no doubt in his own hand. Although lacunae obscure the precise arrangement for the payment of taxes, it is most likely, on the strength of the parallels, that the landlord was responsible for the payment of the public dues and the tenant for the costs of their transportation to the village threshing floor.

The document consists of two fragments connected by a piece of modern papyrus. The top piece is small and preserves parts of six lines of text but lacks both left and right margins, while the bottom piece is larger and preserves the left-hand (1.5 cm) and bottom margins (2.1 cm) of 26 lines of text; unfortunately, as much as a third of the right-hand side is lost. The backs of both pieces are empty. There appear to be two hands in the document: ll. 1-23 (ending with $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$) are written in a loose, inconsistent, and unpractised script with an almost total lack of ligatures; and ll. 23 (beginning with $\Delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$) to 26 are written in a large, upright block script. The smaller of the two pieces seems to be written in the same hand as ll. 1-23. The relative positions assigned the two fragments by the modern repair are quite misleading. The top fragment is not an earlier part of the text, but is in fact part of the right-hand side of ll. 1-6. The individual terms of this application to lease (α ὑπόμνημα) conform to several known parallels (especially *P.Kron.* 34, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 6.271, *P.Hamb.* 1.64 and *P.Mich.* 3.184) and permit most lacunae to be filled with some confidence, but the order of clauses is unusual, as is the fact that it is from Philoteris.⁷

⁷ For examples of *hypomnemata* along with commentary, see S. Omar, "Eine Rolle mit sieben Hypomnemata aus dem Ägyptischen Museum zu Kairo," *ZPE* 50 (1983) 73-91. On land leases generally, see the introduction to *P.Heid.* 4 (with bibliography), D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (München 1967), esp. the list of applications to lease at pp. 247-288, and J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der Graeco-Aegyptischen Papyri* (Munich 1958). For a study of land leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996). Rowlandson's list of leases for Oxyrhynchus should now be supplemented by the lists at *P.Oxy.* 67.4595 and 69.4739. For the rents charged in leas-

-
- 1 ἀρουρῶν πέντε ἡμισυ ἢ ὅσα]ἱ
[ἐ]ὰν ὥσι, ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς
[κ]αθ' ἔτος ἀσπερμι πυροῦ ἀρτα-
- 4 [β]ῶν εἴκοσι πέντε μέτρῳ ἕκτῳ
[θεοῦ] Φιλοτερίδος καὶ ἐπιτε[λ]έσω
[τὰ] καθ' ἔτος τῶν ἀρ[ουρῶν γ]εφ[ρ-]
γι]κὰ ἔργα πάντα [καὶ τὰ καθ' ἔτος]
- 8 ἐκφόρια ἀποδώσω ἐ[ν μηνὶ Παῦνι]
ἐν Φιλοτερίδι μέτρῳ [ca. 6-8]
καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον [παραδώσω]
τὰς ἀρούρας ὡς καὶ ἐγ[ὼ παρείλη-]
- 12 φα καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ μέ[ρος ἀπὸ κοπῆς]
χόρτου καταβρώμα[τος βοῶν]
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸ[ν] ἡμισυ [ἀπὸ καλάμης],
τῶν δὲ καθ' ἔτος δη[μοσίων]
- 16 πάντων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ καὶ]
τῇγ' Δημητροῦν, τῶν δ[ὲ καθ' ἔτος]
φολέτρων {καὶ φολέ[τρων] ἐπισ-]
πουδασμοῦ ὄντων [πρὸς ἐμὲ]
- 20 ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχω[ρῆσαι.]
(ἔτους) ἰς Αὐτοκράτορο[ς Καίσαρος]
Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ]
'Επειφὶ ἱε. (second hand) Διδᾶς [ἐπικεχῶ-]
- 24 ρηκα ἐπὶ ταῖς τ[οῦ πυροῦ]
ἀρταβῶν εἴκ[οσι πέν-]
τη

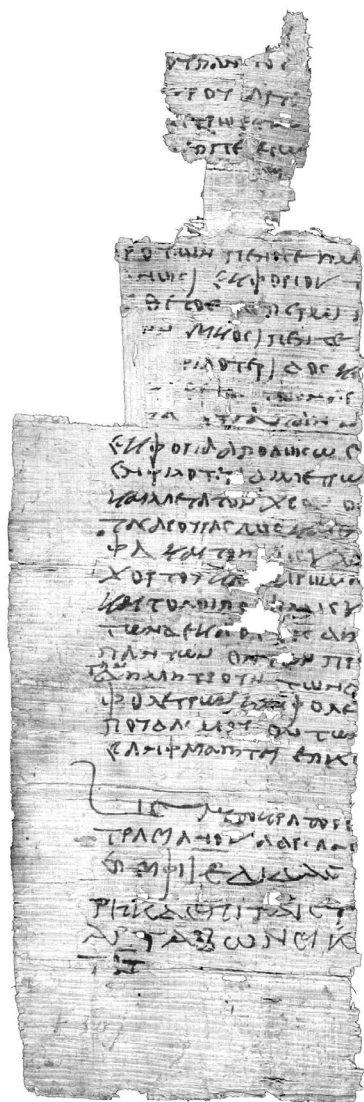
3 ἀσπερμεῖ 5 Φιλωτερίδος 6 κατ' ἔτος 18 φορέτρων
22 Τραιανοῦ 25 ἀρταβαῖς 25-26 πέντε

“... of five (and) a half arouras or however many there are, at a total yearly rent, not including seed, of twenty-five artabas of wheat by the sixth measure of the god of Philoteris, and I will complete all the annual farm-related jobs of the arouras, and I will pay the rent in the month of Payni in Philoteris by the (sixth?) measure, and after the period (of the lease expires) I will hand over the arouras just as I took them, both the half part with the fodder cut for

es up to the time of Diocletian, see H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten* (St. Katharinen 1991) 155-178 and 192-248 (tables).

food for the oxen and the remaining half part free from stubble, with all yearly taxes being the responsibility of you (Didas) and Demetrous, and with the annual costs of freight being my responsibility, if it seems good to grant the concession. The 16th year of the emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus on Epeiph 15th. (second hand) I, Didas, have granted the concession for twenty-five artabas of grain.”

1 ἀρουρῶν: The genitive, rather than the expected accusative plural, ἀρούρας, almost certainly comes from the preposition ἀπὸ in the preceding lost lines, as is attested twice in a lease from Tebtunis, *P.Mich.* 5.326.1.18-19 (48): τὸ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος ἀπὸ τῶν | περὶ μὲν τὴν προκειμένην κώμην Τεπτύνιν ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) κηλ ἥ ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦσι ἐν δυσὶ σφραγεῖσι ἀρο(ύρας) ἰβλδ; and ll. 25-26: ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Κερκεσοῦχα Ὅρους ἀρουρῶν (ἀρούρας) ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἀπη(λιώτην) μέρους διατεινούσας νότου ἐπὶ βο(ρρᾶ) αἵ εἰσιν ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) κε | ἥ ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦσι. What is meant here is that only part of the plot of 5 1/2 aouras is being leased. Since we cannot be sure how much was leased, whether or not a rent of 25 artabas is high or low cannot be established. See Drexhage (n. 7) 160-161, for rents in the first half of the second century in the Arisinoite nome. If Drexhage's average of 10.43 artabas per aroura is assumed for the years 128 to 140, and the rent is 25 artabae, then approximately 2.5 arouras are being rented, or just under half the plot.



ἡ ὄσα] | [ἐ]ὰν ὤσι: For this expression see, H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Massangaben der Papyrusurkunden, insbesondere die Klausel ἡ ὄσαι ἐὰν ὤσιν und ihrer Synonyme* (PhD diss. Köln 1966) (cited in *P.Heid.* 4.329.10n.); and Hermann (n. 7) 74-77 and 163-64.

3 ἀσπερμί: For other instances of this term, see, e.g., *P.Amh.* 2.90.6, 91.8; *P.Tebt.* 5.2.374.18; *P.Oslo* 2.33.24; *P.Mert.* 1.10.41; and *P.Diog.* 29.9. This provision appears to mean that the landlord would not provide seed for the next year and that it was the responsibility of the tenant. See Herrmann (n. 7) 102, and Rowlandson (n. 7) 224-225.

4 μέτρῳ ἔκτῳ: This local measure for the artaba is attested elsewhere in the Fayyum: *P.Hamb.* 1.64.21 (Euhemeria, 104); and *P.Stras.* 5.362.13 (Euhemeria, 149-150). *P.Hamb.* 1.64 ad loc. (p. 221) states that this measure is equivalent to the μέτρον δρόμων τετραχοίνικον (κώμης), for which see R.P. Duncan-Jones, "Variation in Egyptian Grain-measure," *Chiron* 9 (1979) 355-357.

5 [θεοῦ] Φιλοτερίδος: Grenfell and Hunt (*P.Tebt.* 2, p. 408) identified this village in the district of Themistos (μερὶς Θεμίστου, as in *P.Athen.* 43.v.1, 131/2) with the village of Wadfa in the north-west Fayyum. Archaeological surveys were conducted in 2000-2003 on the proposed site of Philoteris by C. Römer et al., "Philoteris in the Themistou Meris: Report on the Archaeological Survey Carried out as Part of the Fayyum Survey Project," *ZPE* 147 (2004) 281-304. While θησαυροῦ is expected here to qualify the type of measure used, the supplement θεοῦ fits the space much better according to the parallels from Arsinoite villages. See *P.Hamb.* 1.64.19-21 (Euhemeria): τὰ δὲ κατ' ἕτος | ἐκφόρια ἀποδώσω ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐν | θησαυρῷ μέτρῳ ἔκτῳ θεοῦ Εὐημερίας; and *P.Stras.* 5.362.13 (Euhemeria): μέτρῳ ἔκτῳ θεοῦ τῆς κώ(μης).

ἐπιτε[λ]έσω: For nearly identical expressions, see, e.g., *P.Mich.* 3.185.15; *BGU* 2.586.16 and 633.13. For discussion of the agricultural responsibilities of tenants, see D. Hennig, "Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen der Pächter in Landpachtverträgen aus dem Faijum," *ZPE* 9 (1972) 111-131.

7-8 [καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕτος] | ἐκφόρια: For the supplement, see, e.g., *SB* 16.12539.23.

8 ἐ[ν μηνὶ Παῦνι]: This was the month for the payment of rent in the majority of leases and can be restored in the lacuna with some confidence (Herrmann [note 7] 107). For other instances, see, e.g., *BGU* 2.633.16-17 (221); 3.800.7, 20 (158); 918.21; 990.r.8; 4.1018.17; 11.2046.8; *P.Amh.* 2.90.17 (159); *P.Hamb.* 1.64.20 (104); *P.Kron.* 34.29 (134); *P.Lond.* 2.308.23 (145); *P.Mich.*

3.184.16 (121); 185.20 (122); *P.Mil. Vogl.* 6.270.4 (129). See also the list of Oxyrhynchite land leases in Rowlandson (n. 7) 331-352.

9 μέτρῳ [ca. 6-8]: Though ἔκτῳ is suggested by l. 4 above, it would be a short a supplement for the space. θησαυροῦ is another possible supplement, but unlikely given the specification in l. 4, and Φιλοτερίδος seems too long.

11 The *omega* of ὥς is unusual as it has an upward stroke leading to the first descending stroke of the *omega* so as to create something that looks like a *lambda*. Though the reading is not in question, it would seem that the writer may have abruptly changed his mind about the character as he wrote.

12 τὸ ἥ[μ]ισιν μέ[ρος ἀπὸ κοπῆς] | χόρτου: For an exact parallel to this restoration, see *P.Diog.* 26.8 (158). See note on l. 14 below for what is meant by this expression.

13 καταβρώμα[τος βοῶν]: This supplement is difficult, but the κα seems to be the best reading. No exact parallel exists for the passage, but *P.Hamb.* 1.64.25-26 has land returned ἀπὸ | χόρτου βρώματος βοῶν. For the phrase καταβρώματος βοῶν see *P.Mil. Vogl.* 3.132.r.13-15 (= SB 6.9313): τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ τρίτον ἔτος ἀρούρας μὲν | τρεῖς ἥμισιν [εἰ]ς <σ>πορὰν | ὧν ἕαν αἰρώμεθα πλὴν πυροῦ, | τὰς [δὲ λοιπὰς εἰς <σ>πορὰν χόρτου καταβρώματος βοῶν. See also *P.Mil. Vogl.* 3.133.r.17 (= SB 6.9380.2). The word προβάτων, though very commonly used in this context, is too long a supplement.

14 τὸ λοιπὸ[v] ἥμισιν [ἀπὸ καλάμης]: For this restoration, see the exact parallels at *P.Mich.* 3.184.20-21 and *P.Diog.* 26.9. What is referred to in ll. 12 to 14 is a two-field crop rotation between wheat and fodder, and the provision that the stubble be removed after the harvest in the spring. For this system, see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (München 1925) 117 and 218-239.

16-17 πρὸς σὲ καὶ] | `τήν' Δημητροῦν: The supplement to l. 16 should be a personal pronoun, almost certainly σέ, i.e. the landowner whom the applicant is addressing. A brief survey of lease applications and leases from the first and second centuries shows that the landlord almost always had to bear the burden of the taxes, e.g., *BGU* 2.661.24, *P.Stras.* 4.282.9 (161-169), *P.Diog.* 26.4, *P.Mil. Vogl.* 3.195.3-4, *P.Oslo* 2.34.13, and *P.Sarap.* 48.23. See also Herrmann (n. 7) 122-124, and Rowlandson (n. 7) 226. Yet in the present case supplementing the name of the landlord who agrees to the lease in ll. 23 and 24, Διδᾶς, will not fit. Demetrous, a woman, appears to be using a man as the formal lessor for her land. The exact relationship between the two is unknown, but there are cases of a husband acting as the lessor of his wife's land: *P.Oxy.* 36.2776, 49.3489, SB 14.11428 and *P.Oxy.* 17.2137 (using the preposition διὰ to define the husband's

role). See Rowlandson (n. 7) 263-264, for women in lease agreements. In the supralinear insertion of the definite article before Demetrous' name the writer may have had something like *P.Amh.* 2.90.20 in mind (although in the present document there are two lessors): πάντων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ τὴν Διδεῖν.

17-18 The phrase καὶ φολέτρων appears to have been carelessly repeated by the author. See *P.Tebt.* 3.187 for a comparable expression: πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὄντων τῶν κατ' | ἔτος τοῦ ἐπισπουδασμοῦ φορέτρων (see also from Tebtynis *P.Mil. Vogl.* 3.132.34, 138.26, 187.9, 195.5). For the meaning of ἐπισπουδασμοῦ, see *P. Tebt.* 2.311.24n.

19 [πρὸς ἐμὲ]: The costs of transports typically fall on the tenant when the landlord pays the taxes. For this arrangement with very similar phrasing, see, e.g., SB 16.13010.35 (144) and *P.Tebt.* 2.375.25-26. See also Rowlandson (n. 7) 225-226.

20 ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχω[ρῆσαι]: The usual operative verb in a lease – μισθώσασθαι – is eschewed here in favour of ἐπιχωρῆσαι as in *P.Aberd.* 45. 2.21 (Soknopraiou Nesos, 141), *P.Mich.* 3.185.26-27 (122), *P.Mich.* 14.678.19 (98), *P.Mil. Vogl.* 6. 269.32 (124), *P.Ryl.* 4.600.r.24 (8 BC), and *PSI* 5.459.18-19 (72).

21 Αὐτοκράτορο[ς Καίσαρος] | Τραειανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ]. For this sequence of titulature, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (Brussels 1964) 61-63.

26 Although πέντη is a common misspelling, the flat dash over the *eta* is puzzling.

3. A Declaration of Property

P.Oxy. 3.637

11.5 x 7.2cm

Oxyrhynchus

APIS ID: toronto.apis.22

109-117

This damaged light tan papyrus of 21 lines is a declaration (ἀπογραφὴ) of property that was described by Grenfell and Hunt (*P.Oxy.* 3, p. 287), and partially transcribed as follows: l. 3 (from ἀπογράφομαι) to l. 6 (πατρός), and l. 9 (from μὴ ἀπογραψαμένου) to l. 12 (Ταλαώ). Like *P.Harr.* 1.74, the present return is a case where a decreed general return seems to coincide with a regular return due to the acquisition of a legacy. Here the inheritor, Orsenouphis, registers for the first time the property transferred to him by his deceased father, Epharmostos. Though μέρος is understood to follow in the damaged part of the papyrus, we do not know what property it was a part of, but a house is presumed, perhaps along with other items. Such general property returns were

spaced approximately ten years apart, and are attested in 80 (*P. Oxy.* 2.249), 90 (*P. Oxy.* 1.72), 99 (*P. Harr.* 1.74, *PSI* 13.942, and *P. Oxy.* 3.481), and 109 (*P. Oxy.* 3.482). Another general return after is not attested again until the reign of Hadrian. No absolute dating is possible from the extant text, but the range 109-117 is given by the fact that Trajan is still referred to as the ruling emperor (l. 13).⁸ Harmon (n. 8) 185, n. 92, states that the present return “can hardly belong to that year” (109). Were the return made in the same year as the registration of the *ὁμολογία* the writer would probably indicated that it was “in the present” (*ἐνεστώτος*) twelfth year of Trajan. The present return, then, must belong either to an unattested return after 109 ordered by Trajan (as Harmon seems to believe), or perhaps to the part of 109 that fell in Trajan’s regnal year 13.

The beginning of the return is lost except for undecipherable traces, but the names of archive keepers (*βιβλιόφυλακες*) in the dative are expected.⁹ The margins on both sides of the text are preserved (1.7 cm right, 0.1 cm left). The text is written along the fibres in a regular, cursive hand. The bottom of the papyrus is very badly frayed where the fibres have become separated and it can only be read in part. The back of the document has only a few very faint, indecipherable ink specks.

-
- 1 [ca. 12 βιβλιο]φυλ(αξι)
παρὰ [Ὀρσενούφιος (?) Ἐφαρμόστου] τοῦ
Ὀρσενούφιος μητ[ρὸς] ἀπὸ
Ταλαῶ. ἀπογράφομαι πρῶτως κα-
- 4 τὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα τὸ κατην-
τηκὸς εἰς με ἐξ ὀνόματος
τοῦ πατρός μου Ἐφαρμόστου
Ὀρσενούφιος τοῦ Ἐφαρμόστου
- 8 μητρὸς Εὐτέρπης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-
τῆς κώμης μὴ ἀπογραψαμένου
ἀκολουθῶς ἢ πεποιῆται περὶ κα-
ταλείψεως ὁμολογία διὰ γρα-
- 12 φίου Ταλαῶ τῷ μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ
τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἔ[του]ς Τραιαν[οῦ]
Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου ἐ[φ’ ἧ] ἀμετ[α]-
θέτω ἐτελεύτησεν ὃ ἐπεμέ-

⁸ See A. Harmon, “Egyptian Property-Returns,” *Yale Classical Studies* 4 (1934) 135-234, for general discussion of property returns, and 184-85 for the frequency of “general” returns.

⁹ For a list of known *bibliophylakes*, see Sijpesteijn and Worp (n. 5) 526-532.

- 16 ρισέν μοι καὶ . . [ca. 12]
 ζη . . . [. . .] [ca. 10]
 αὐτῇ . . . [ca. 18]
 σὺ [ca. 17]
 20 [ca. 16]

“... to the *bibliophylakes* from Orsenouphis (?), son of Epharmostos, son of Orsenouphis and his mother being ... from Talao. I declare for the first time in accordance with the decree the property that has devolved upon me from my father Epharmostos, son of Orsenouphis, son of Epharmostos, his mother being Euterpe, from the same village, without him having declared the property, in accordance with the testamentary covenant which he made through the registry office of Talao in the month of Kaisareios, in the twelfth year of our Lord Trajan, unchanged at the time of his death, that which he apportioned to me and ...”

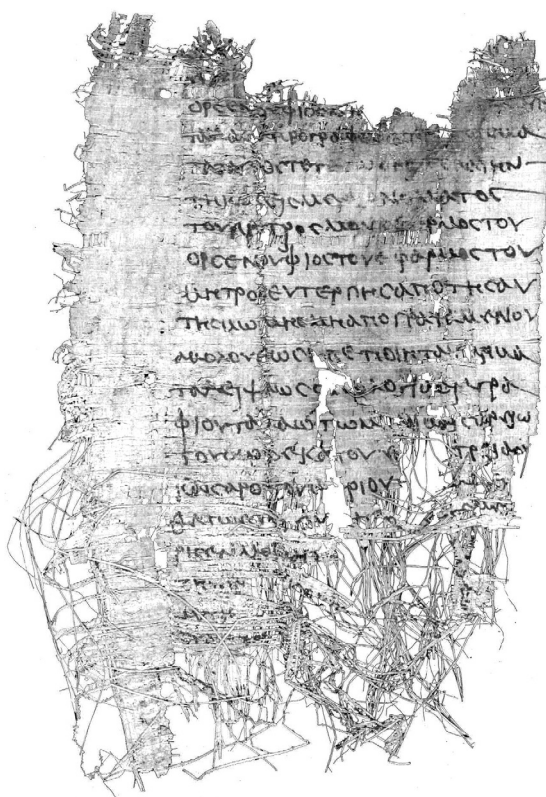
1 βιβλιοφυλ(): The bottom of a *lambda* is visible at the end of l. 1, as well as the faintest traces of two other letters. Since the names of the *bibliophylakes* are expected before the *παρά* that begins l. 2, an abbreviated form of the dative plural is very likely. For a parallel to this opening, see *P.Harr.* 1.74.1-4.

2 παρὰ [Ὀρσενούφιος (?): The supplement is not certain. The son's name may be that of the grandfather's, but not necessarily.

3 Ταλαώ was a village (κώμη) in the Oxyrhynchite nome near Sinary and is attested in a number of documents (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 55.3778.1+8, 10.1285.131, 3.514.2, 5). *P.Oxy.* 50.3560.5 has a γραφεῖον at Talao, a registry also referred to in *P.Oxy.* 44.3166.14 and 3.637. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (Firenze 1981) 193-194. For general discussion of this toponym, see F. Lasserre, “Laos et Talaos (Strabon VI,1,1),” *La Parola del Passato* 18 (1963) 355-364.

3-4 κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα: For this expression in other returns, see *P.Oslo* 2.24.6; *P.Harr.* 1.74.10; *P.Oxy.* 2.249.6, and *PSI* 8.942.8. It indicates that this return was made under the order of the prefect. For discussion of an earlier property declaration in 60/1, see R. Caldwell, “A Declaration of Property from the Michigan Collection,” *BASP* 39 (2002) 7-11.

Grenfell and Hunt's οὕτως was corrected to πρώτως in *BL* 1:326. For a parallel use of the adverb πρώτως see *P.Harr.* 1.74.9-10. Harmon (n. 8) 177-182 argues that the adverb means that the person making the declaration has never before declared any property. Whether or not this is true, in the present



document, since the property is being inherited, the heir would naturally be declaring it for the first time under his own name.

9 μη ἀπογραψαμένου: the aorist participle indicates that the property had not been registered earlier, a situation that would require an attempt to trace the property back to its earlier owners, as suggested by Harmon (n. 8) 200-201.

11 περί καταλείψεως ὁμολογία: The parallels for this expression use διαθήκη not ὁμολογία, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 1.75.12 (129). The use of the term ὁμολογία, and the verb μερίζειν in l. 15 indicate that the property was transferred not by a formal testament (διαθήκη) after the death of the testator but rather *inter vivos* through a so-called *donatio mortis causa* (μεριτεία). See Harmon (n. 8) 146-152. For recent discussion of the differences between a διαθήκη and a μεριτεία, see U. Yiftach, “Deeds of Last Will in Graeco-Roman Egypt: A Case

Study in Regionalism,” *BASP* 39 (2002) 149-164. Yiftach concludes that the *donatio mortis causa* was used most often in villages, while the διαθήκη was more commonly used in metropoleis. For more discussion of the nature of the *donatio mortis causa* itself and bibliography, see P.J. Sijpesteijn, “A Donatio Mortis Causa,” *ZPE* 98 (1993) 294-295; and J. Farr, “Manumission in the Form of a Donatio Mortis Causa,” *BASP* 30 (1993) 93-97, with bibliography. See also, more generally, see E. Champlin, *Final Judgements: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C. – A.D. 250* (Berkeley 1991).

12 The date when the legator’s covenant was made – 25 July - 23 August 109 – is not absolute evidence for the date of the return itself. Legatees would, it seems, delay registration for as long as possible, with some delaying over 20 years (for this, see S. Avogadro, “Le ἀπογραφαὶ di proprietà nell’Egitto greco-romano,” *Aegyptus* 15, 1935, 190-191). But the fact that the declaration was made κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα (seen the note on l. 3) makes a general return in or after 109 the most likely candidate (see introduction). The general return in 109 may have forced this legatee’s hand. For the γραφεῖον at Talao, see *P.Oxy.* 50.3560.5 with commentary.

14 ἐ[φ’ ἧ] ἀμετ[α]|θέτω: For parallels to this expression in other property returns, see *P.Harr.* 1.74.25, *P.Oxy.* 1.75.15, and *P.Oxy.* 3.482.35-36.

15 ἐτελεύτησεν ὃ ἐπεμέρισέν μοι: ὁ πατήρ, the declarant’s father, is likely the subject of ἐπεμέρισεν. The verb ἐμέρισεν, typical for an *inter vivos* transfer (see note on l. 11 above), is not usually found in this compounded form, but see *BGU* 11.2063.7-8: ἐπεμέρισέν | μοι.

Back to Oegstgeest

The von Scherling Papyrus Collection

Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota¹

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Abstract

Survey of the dispersal of the von Scherling papyrus collection and edition of eleven von Scherling texts in the University of Minnesota collection.

Part 1: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection

The website of the Department of Special Collections and Rare Books at the University of Minnesota University Libraries² contains scans of a small but interesting collection of two ostraka, numbered 1 (a Greek text) and 2 (an Egyptian text), and almost two dozen papyrus fragments. The latter are numbered consecutively 1-21 and most of them are written in Greek. But #19 is actually written on leather, while #3 is a papyrus with Egyptian hieroglyphs. A few items were bought from Maggs Brothers in London,³ but most came from Egypt to Minnesota via the Netherlands.⁴ They were bought before or after WW II from Erik von Scherling, a rare book dealer of Swedish descent selling, among various collectibles, papyri and manuscripts from his office in Oegstgeest (a suburb of Leiden) through a private journal called *Rotulus* (on this, see below). When visiting Egypt in 1935/6 he apparently bought from

¹ This paper derives the first part of its title from a novel, *Terug naar Oegstgeest*, by the well-known Dutch author Jan Wolkers. We owe many thanks to our colleague B.P. Muhs for polishing our English. Moreover, he gave a decisive impetus to this paper by his discovery of the website mentioned in n. 2.

² See <http://special.lib.umn.edu/rare/papyri>.

³ Papyri nos. 7-9a-b.

⁴ Ostraka nos. 1-2; papyri nos. 1-6, 10-21.

several persons, from fellahin in Hibeh and Achmîm and from Maurice Nahman in Cairo, a substantial number of inscribed objects, in particular ostraka and fragments of papyrus and parchment. Von Scherling sold these objects to customers all over the world, including at least some private individuals and academic institutions in the East and Midwest of the United States. Furthermore, after von Scherling's death some of his texts came into the hands of other dealers (i.a. Maggs Brothers, mentioned above, and Laurence Witten, Southport, Connecticut) who sold these to customers of their own. Nowadays, papyri once belonging to the von Scherling collection are located in the libraries of the University of Minnesota-Minneapolis, Indiana University-Bloomington (see n. 9), the University of Colorado-Boulder (see n. 17), Yale University (cf. *P.Turner* 27-28 introd.), and Duke University,⁵ as well as in the British Library, the Belastingmuseum in Rotterdam, and the National Museum of Antiquities and the Papyrological Institute in Leiden.⁶

I have attempted to reconstruct the contents of von Scherling's collection, especially as far as the Greek papyri are concerned.⁷ This attempt is based first and foremost on data in von Scherling's journal *Rotulus*, in fact a sales catalogue published at irregular intervals for potential buyers.⁸ These sales catalogues contain concise descriptions of various objects for sale, and from volume 5 onwards the descriptions also feature an inventory number connected with von Scherling's collection. As he sometimes re-offered in a later *Rotulus* volume an object already offered previously in an earlier volume, it is possible to add to the earlier descriptions an inventory number found only with a later description. In the case of inv. 235 below, the inventory number is visible on the back of the original kept in the Leiden Papyrological Institute.

⁵ See W.H. Willis, *BASP* 25 (1988) 99. Through the *APIS* website one finds that P.Robinson inv. 18-20 = P.Duke inv. 758-760 (for the last item cf. SB 20.14290), while P.Robinson inv. 24-26 = P.Duke inv. 761-763. A Duke inventory number for P.Robinson inv. 21-23 is unavailable.

⁶ For the latter two collections, see the information provided by A. Verhoogt and N. Kruit to S. Clackson and reported by her in *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 13-14. For another Greek papyrus in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities see the *ed.pr.* of SB 18.13631 in *OMRO* 67 (1987) 25 (= inv. F1948/3.4). To the kindness of Dr. M. Raven I owe the information that the Museum's inventory numbers F 1942/10.6-17, and F 1948/3.1-5 all refer to Greek papyri coming from the collection of E. von Scherling. It is hoped that some of these texts may be published elsewhere in a forthcoming article.

⁷ I record here with gratitude the permission given by my colleague P. van Minnen to make use of some notes collected by himself long ago in Leiden on E. von Scherling's collection.

⁸ Between 1931 and 1954 there appeared volumes 1 (1931); 2 (1932); 3 (1933); 4 (1937); 5 (1949); 6 (1952); and 7 (1954).

An analysis of the contents of various volumes follows.

Rotulus 1 (1931) does not mention any papyrological material.

Rotulus 2 (1932) mentions several Egyptian papyri and ostraka (##1412-1416, 1513-1515, 1521-1526, several of them [##1515, 1521-1524] featuring drawings), six Greek papyri (##1502-1507), two Greek ostraka (##1508 [= #1419], 1509), and two Coptic texts on parchment (##1417, 1418). Some of these papyri and ostraka (cf. ##1414, 1503, 1504, 1509, 1514) went to Minnesota.

Rotulus 3 (1933) mentions ##1599-1602, 1613-1614, 1696 (Egyptian and Coptic papyri and ostraka), and ##1607-1609, 1701, 1726-1729 (Greek papyri). At present there is no clear evidence as to who bought these objects.

Rotulus 4 (1937) mentions ##1883-1899, 2007-2008 (Greek), 2009 (Coptic), 2043-2045 (Egyptian). Some of these went to Minnesota; one object ended up at Indiana University-Bloomington (#1883; for this item, cf. also *Rotulus* 6 [1952] #2351). #1897 (a drawing on papyrus) was offered again for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) as #2352.

Rotulus 5 (1949) mentions ##2181-2193 (Greek literary papyri), 2194, 2194a, 2195-2207, 2261 (Greek letters and documents); 2208-2259, 2262 (various Coptic religious, magical, and documentary texts, among which inv. ##C 100, 48, 26, 77, 23, 109, 1, 4, 16, 3, 92, 89, 91, 24, 107, 98, 47, 90, 2, 19, 15, 3, 85, 10, 117, 39, 45, 27, 38, 72, 25, 29, 36, 6, 37, 99; Cm 13, 4, 11a/b, 12, 8, 6, 15, 14; Ca 18). ##2194a, 2197, and 2206 were acquired by the Belastingmuseum in Rotterdam.

Rotulus 6 (1952) mentions ##2346-2347, 2349-2352 (offered for sale already in *Rotulus* 4 [1937] as #1897), 2353 (12 pieces in one batch), 2447-2457 (all Greek documents); 2354-2356 (Coptic texts, inv. C 32, 21, 138). Some of these objects (i.e. the 12 texts offered for sale under #2353) went to Minnesota; ##2351 and 2451 (both in fact bilingual Greek-Latin texts) were bought by Mr. Poole, a printer from Chicago, and came later on to Indiana University-Bloomington.⁹ NB: for some unknown reason, the number 2348 was not assigned.

Rotulus 7 (1954) mentions ##2523-2526, 2584-2598, 2598a, 2599 (all Greek documents); 2599a (a Demotic document).

A consolidated list of von Scherling inventory numbers reported in volumes of *Rotulus* 5-7 follows. (NB: *Rotulus* 4 does not yet present inventory numbers, but if objects were re-offered for sale in a subsequent volume of *Rotulus* with an inventory number, the entry number of the object in *Rotulus* 4 has been given within [].)

⁹ I owe this information to a personal communication from Ms. Becky Cape, librarian at Indiana University.

von Scherling inv.	<i>Rotulus</i> 4 (1937)	<i>Rotulus</i> 5 (1949)	<i>Rotulus</i> 6 (1952)	<i>Rotulus</i> 7 (1954)
4			2456	
B5				2584
8				2599
11		2207		
12			2353 #8	
15				2598a
19		2204		
24			2353 #4	
25			2353 #2	
27		2206		
29				2453
31				2454
34		2201		
36		2203		
37				2593
39		2195		
44				2587
48		2205		
51				2595
52			2353 #12	
58				2590
63			2353 #3	
74			2353 #6	
82		2196		
83				2450
84		2189		
87				2594
90		2183		
91		2187		
94			2347	
96		2192		
99	[1886]		2346	
107			2353 #7	
110	[1889]			2598 ¹⁰
111		2184		2598
125				2457

¹⁰ NB: the description in *Rotulus* 7 (1954) 2598 for G 110/111 distinguishes this object from the descriptions for ##G 110 and G 111 in *Rotulus* 4 and 5.

von Scherling inv.	<i>Rotulus</i> 4 (1937)	<i>Rotulus</i> 5 (1949)	<i>Rotulus</i> 6 (1952)	<i>Rotulus</i> 7 (1954)
126				2451
127				2455
130			2353 #1	
131				2591
133			2353 #10	
135				2526
136		2182		
139				2597
140				2589
144		2198		
149			2353 #11	
153		2194		
159			2353 #5	
180				2586
183				2588
195		2186		
203		2194a		
206		2202 ¹¹		
207				2596
210		2197		
218				2585
221		2190		
226		2200		
228				2592
231			2349	
[235]		2261		
300			2353 #9	
301		2193	2449	
302		2181		
303		2188		
400H			2448	
429			2452	
501				2523
511				2525
526				2524

¹¹ The same number G 206 was also given *sub* #2208 to a Coptic fragment.

For only a limited number of von Scherling texts is it possible to give publication details (I add the original price asked by von Scherling):

<i>Rotulus</i>	inv. G	Publication/Catalogue	Offered for
3 (1933) #1726	?	SB 5.7524 (present location?)	US \$95
4 (1937) #1883	?	ChLA 11.1648 (Indiana University-Bloomington; cf. LDAB #9080)	GB £50 ¹²
4 (1937) #1886 ¹³	[99]	SB 20.14590 + Pack ² 1189 (present location?)	GB £22
4 (1937) #1889 ¹⁴	[110]	SB 26.16607 + Pack ² 2274 (present location?)	GB £45
5 (1949) 36 #2194a	203	P.Batav. 8 (Belasting-museum Rotterdam inv. 95)	Dfl. 55
5 (1949) 36 #2197	210	P.Batav. 11 (Belasting-museum Rotterdam inv. 93)	Dfl. 55
5 (1949) 38 #2206	27	P. Batav. 24 (Belastingmuseum Rotterdam inv. 94)	Dfl. 75
6 (1952) 23-24 #2346 ¹⁵	99	SB 20.14590 + Pack ² 1189 ¹⁶	Dfl. 165
7 (1954) 32 #2524	526	P.Select. 24 (joins P.Turner 19)	Dfl. 240

Other references to von Scherling papyri are found in:

Edition/Catalogue	inv.	Details
<i>P.Turner</i> 19 (joins <i>P.Select.</i> 24)	?	<i>P.Turner</i> 19 introd.
<i>P.Turner</i> 27 = P.Yale inv.1726	?	<i>P.Turner</i> 27-28 introd.

¹² This same text was again offered for sale (again without an inventory number) in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) #2351 for Dfl. 450.

¹³ This same text was offered for sale again in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) #2346; see below.

¹⁴ Another text carrying the inventory number G 110/111 was offered for sale in *Rotulus* 7 (1954) #2598 for Dfl. 26. Its present location is unknown.

¹⁵ For vol. 6 (1952) #2351, see above, n. 12.

¹⁶ This text was offered for sale in *Rotulus* 4 (1937) #1886. In the summer of 2006 the object was auctioned by Christie's in New York City and bought by a private collector. A photo is available at http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.be/img/LDAB_1460.jpg.

Edition/Catalogue	inv.	Details
<i>P.Turner</i> 28 = P.Yale inv.1727	?	<i>P.Turner</i> 27-28 introd.
<i>P.Select.</i> 23	G 525	<i>P.Select.</i> 23 introd.
<i>SB</i> 5.7524 (present location ?)	?	<i>SB</i> 5.7524 introd.
<i>SB</i> 6.9426 (Boulder, Colorado)	?	<i>CÉ</i> 34 (1959) 289
<i>SB</i> 10.10569-10570 (British Museum) = P.Lond. inv. 2935, 2936	?	<i>P.Turner</i> , p.93, n.1
<i>SB</i> 18.13631 (Leiden, RMO)	?	<i>OMRO</i> 67 (1987) 25
? <i>SB</i> 20.15191 (Boulder, Colorado) ¹⁷	?	
<i>ZPE</i> 119 (1997) 167, n. 1 (now in a private collection in the USA)	G 301	Inventory number not reported in <i>ZPE</i> , but the text is stated to have been offered for sale in <i>Rotulus</i> 5 (1949), #2193; the original inv. no. G 301 is given there.
?P.Boswinkel 1, published in <i>FS Zauzich</i> , 339-368.	?	See <i>FS Zauzich</i> , 339

The collection of the Leiden Papyrological Institute also has a few von Scherling papyri:

LPI inv.	von Scherling inv.
248	G 46
249	G 32
250	G 530 (the highest inventory number in the von Scherling collection?)
251	G 61
Sine numero	G 235 = <i>Rotulus</i> 5 (1949) #2261, where it was offered for sale for Dfl. 10

I have not been able to match the first four items with any descriptions given in *Rotulus*.

[K.A. Worp]

¹⁷ See <http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu/specialcollections/collections/archivalcolls.htm> for Ms 105; on the other hand, Ms 106 = *SB* 6.9426. I cannot escape the impression that ultimately both papyri came from the same original source mentioned for *SB* 6.9426 in *CÉ* 34 (1959) 289.

Part 2: Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota

Some of the scans of the University of Minnesota papyri on the website (see n. 2) can be read easily enough. With the kind permission of Mr. Tim Johnson of the Department of Special Collections and Rare Books of the University of Minnesota University Libraries¹⁸ we present a selection of texts with translation and commentary. Ms. M.J. Bakker prepared texts **3**, **8**, and **9** for publication, Ms. A.V. Bakkers performed this service for text **7**. The remaining texts, **1**, **2**, **4-6**, **10**, and **11**, were prepared for publication by K.A. Worp.

1. *P.Minnesota 4^R: Declaration to a Strategus of the Oxyrhynchite Nome*

Oxyrhynchus

9.5 (H.) x 5.7 (W.) cm

AD 89-93/4

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling on December 22, 1937, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 4 (1937) #1893. It now carries the accession #762402. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Greek papyrus, portion from a document containing the name of the Emperor Domitian, verso blank, Egypt. Date: about 90 CE. Note: the dealer catalogue reads: ‘Claudios...Gajus Julius... to the Emperor Domitianus Germanicus.’” The verso is empty.

-
- 1 Κλαυδίω Ἀρείῳ [στρατηγῷ Ὁξύρυγχίτου]
 - 2 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Κε . . [. . . ὁμνύω Αὐτοκράτορα]
 - 3 Καίσαρα Δομιτιαν[ὸν Σεβαστὸν]
 - 4 Γερμανικὸν ε . [ca. 23 letters]
 - 5 Τανεχῶτιν Δι . [ca. 18 letters]
 - 6 [] ἐν Ὁξύρυγ[χων πόλει. ca. 11 letters]
-

¹⁸ We are most grateful to Mr. Johnson for his permission (by e-mail, 21 July 2006) to publish the texts on the basis of the images of papyri nos. 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, and 21, and of ostrakon no. 1 as presented on the University of Minnesota Special Collections Library’s website (see n. 2).

A previous publication of a Minnesota papyrus is W. Nichipor and L. Ricketts, “A Ptolemaic Letter at the University of Minnesota,” *BASP* 18 (1981) 131-132 (= *SB* 16.12330; *P.Minnesota* 6, accession number 762404). This papyrus is said to come from Uppsala, but this must be the result of confusion, as at the same time it is indicated that it was purchased, along with two other texts from Uppsala (= our texts **1** and **2**), from Erik von Scherling’s firm.

“To Claudius Areios, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite (nome), Gaius Iulius Ke-; I swear by Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus ... Germanicus, that ... Tanechotis, daughter of Di-, ... in the city of Oxyrhynchus ...”

The transcript above bears out the description in *Rotulus* 4 (1937) #1893. The name “Claudios” occurs in l. 1; l. 2 mentions a “Gajus Julius,” and “the Emperor Domitianus Germanicus” occurs in ll. 3-4, but not in the dative as the translation “to the Emperor ...” in *Rotulus* suggests. Moreover, in l. 4 there occurs a woman’s name, Tanechotis, while l. 6 indicates that something happened in Oxyrhynchus. Unfortunately, little can be said about the precise content of this declaration on oath sent by Gaius Iulius Ke- to Claudius Areios, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The *epsilon* preserved at the end of l. 4 can be taken as the beginning of the infinitive expected to depend from ὀμνῶν in l. 2, but one cannot tell whether it is simply the beginning of a present infinitive like εἶναι/ἔχειν, a perfect infinitive, or the beginning of a prefix like εἰσ-, ἐπι-, ἐκ- or ἐν-.

1 For the strategus Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀρειος, see J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*² (Firenze 2006) 93: he was in office as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome between 89-93/4 (cf. the date “ca. 90 A.D.” assigned to the piece in *Rotulus*), then became strategus of the Herakleides district of the Arsinoite nome (where he is attested between 98-101). The present supplement in the lacuna counts 19 letters, but it is conceivable that the original text featured some abbreviated words.

2 The present supplement of this line counts 16 letters, hence the three dots in the lacuna are meant to make up for the remainder. Supply, e.g., Κέλε[ρ, Κεφα[λᾶς or Κεφά[λων. The traces of the third letter are, however, not easily compatible with either a *lambda* or a *phi*.

3-4 In comparison with ll. 1 and 2, the present supplement in l. 3, only 10 letters, does not fill the lacuna, but no word is needed between Σεβαστόν and Γερμανικόν. It is a counsel of despair to suppose a duplication of the word Σεβαστόν.

4 The women’s name Tanechotis may be compared with two entries in B.W. Jones and J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites*, 30 B.C. – 96 A.D. (Chico 1983) #4611: Tan....is (*P.Oslo* 3.130.7, 2nd half I), and #4611: Tanechotes son of Horion, landholder in *P.Oxy.* 2.290.15 (83/4). The latter text reads in fact Τανεχω(); hence the personal name may also be resolved as Τανεχω̃(τις). There is every reason to prefer an Egyptian female name in Τα-, and there is no ground for thinking that this person is the son rather than the daughter of Horion.

5 Perhaps one could read at line end Διδ . [, suggesting a name such as Didymos.

[K.A. Worp]

2. *P.Minnesota 5^R: Receipt for the Return of Some Marriage Goods*

Provenance unknown

8.9 (H.) x 3.2 (W.) cm

III AD

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling on December 22, 1937, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 4 (1937) #1891. It now carries the accession #762403. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Fragment from a private letter, end of lines missing, verso blank, Egypt. Date: 3rd century CE.”

 1 traces []
 2 Αὐρηλία Ρ[. ὁμολο-]
 3 γῶ ἀπηλλάχ[θαι πρὸς Αὐρήλιον]
 4 Ὀρίωνα σ[. καὶ ἀπεσχηκέ-]
 5 ναι μαι πα . [. καὶ οὐδέ-]
 6 να λόγον ἔχ[ω καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκα-]
 7 λῶ οὐδαὶ [ἐγκαλέσω ὡς πρό-]
 8 κειται καὶ ἐ[περωτ(ηθεῖσα) ὡμολόγησα.]
 9 Αὐρήλιος Π . [. τῇ]
 10 ἀδελφῇ μου [καὶ ἀπέσχομεν]
 11 τὰ ἡμαίταιρ[α πάντα καὶ ἔγρα-]
 12 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῇ[ς μὴ εἰδυῖς γράμμα-]
 13 τα vacat []

3 ἀπηλλάχ[θαι 5 με? 7 οὐδέ 11 ἡμέτερα 12 ψα: ψ corr. ex κ;
 αὐτῇ[ς; or αὐτῶ[ν?

“I, Aurelia R-, acknowledge to have become divorced from Aurelius Hori-on ... and that I have received (everything?) and that I have no claim and shall have no claim as stated above, and after I have been asked the formal question I have agreed. I, Aurelius P-, ... for my sister, and we have received our belongings, and I have written on her behalf as she does not know letters.”

This third-century text (note the use of Aurelius and the palaeography) apparently presents a receipt for certain goods returned to a woman Aurelia

R- (l. 2), after she was divorced from her husband, Aurelius Horion (ll. 2-4). Apparently she stated that she had no further claim against him for now and in the future, and this part of the text concludes with the usual *stipulatio* formula (ll. 5-8). Then a man, Aurelius P-, occurs in l. 9; he apparently assisted his sister (ll. 9-10) in recovering “our belongings” (l. 11) and wrote for her as she was illiterate (ll. 11-13). For such receipts see H.-A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung* (München 1971) 43ff.

3 For the expression ἀπαλλάττομαι πρὸς τινα used by a woman divorcing from her husband, see *P.Münch.* 1.14.22.

4 Is this initial σ[. the beginning of a patronymic, or the beginning of the word σ[ύμβιον?

5 Read: ναι με πάν[τα τὰ πράγματα, πάν[τα τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ, *vel sim.*?

9 After Αὐρήλιος Π, the ink trace on the edge of the papyrus might come from an *alpha* or a *lambda*. Supply in the lacuna συνέστηκε τῇ], συμπαρήμην τῇ], *vel sim.*?

[K.A. Worp]

3. *P.Minnesota 11: Request for the Payment for πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*

Oxyrhynchus

7.5 (H.) x 4 (W.) cm

AD 99/100

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2353.2 (his own inventory number was “G 25”). It now carries the accession #1381983. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Papyrus fragment, petition, Egypt, 1st cent. CE.” Light brown papyrus of medium quality, broken off on the left and at the bottom. The lacuna on the left contains 14-15 letters. 13 lines of writing are preserved. The hand is rather big and the letters are often separated from one another. In l. 14 a second, more cursive hand left only a few traces. The papyrus is glued to a piece of cardboard, which makes the verso inaccessible; probably it was empty.

- 1 [Δίψ στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὀξ(υρυγίτου)?] vacat
- 2 [παρὰ N.N. τοῦ] Εὐδαίμονος τῶν
- 3 [ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων π]όλεως. Δέωμαι
- 4 [ἐπισταλῆναι ἐκ το]ῦ δημοσί[ο]υ τὰς
- 5 [ὀφειλομένας μοι ὑ]πὲρ τειμῆς πυ-
- 6 [ροῦ συναγοραστικ]οῦ οὗ ἐμέτρησα
- 7 [εἰς δημ(όσιον) θησαυρὸν γ]ενήμα(τος) τοῦ β (ἔτους)

8 [Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος] τοῦ κυρίου
 9 [ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ὑ]πὸ Πομπηίου
 10 [Πλάντα τοῦ κρατίσ]του ἡγεμό-
 11 [νος κελευσθεῖσι] διὰ σι(τολόγων) ὤφεως
 12 [ca. 14] σὺν ταῖς εἰς
 13 [ca. 14] δην Ἱπποδάμου
 14 (m.2) [ca. 14] Θμοινεψῶβθ(εως) . []
 15 [ca. 15] . [. .] . [. . .] . . . []

3 δέομαι 5 τιμῆς 14 θμοινεψωβ^θ Pap.

“To Dius, strategus (of the Oxyrhynchite nome?), from N.N. son of Eudaimon, native of the city of Oxyrhynchus. I request authority for the payment out of the public treasury of the (drachmas) owed to me on account of the price of the requisitioned wheat which I measured out into the state granary from the crop of the 2nd year of Traianus Caesar the lord in accordance with the orders of Pompeius Planta, the most excellent prefect, through the *sitologoi* of Ophis child of Hippodamus ... of (?) Thmoinepsobthis ...”

The papyrus contains a request for the refund of the price of πυρὸς συναγοραστικός, addressed to the nome strategus. Other documents of this type listed in the *HGV* (accessed November 2006) are: *P.Oxy.* 41. 2958-2960, 47.3335, and 57.3910, where further literature on πυρὸς συναγοραστικός is cited. *P.Oxy.* 41.2958-2959 are very similar to this text. For Dius strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome and Pompeius Planta prefect of Egypt, see *P.Oxy.* 57.3910 introd. and, most recently, J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*² (Firenze 2006) 94. This papyrus can be added to the so called “archive” of the strategus Dius (*P.Oxy.* 57.3910 introd.).

In this text the amount concerned is not preserved, nor is an exact date. The “second year” mentioned in l. 7 is probably the past year of the reign of Trajan, as in *P.Oxy.* 41.2958-2959 and 47.3335. The papyrus can then be dated in his third year, 99/100.

1 In the lacuna there is space for the supplement Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου), as in *P.Oxy.* 57.3910.1 and 67.4584.2. There are, however, also cases in which Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου) is left out (*P.Oxy.* 41.2958-2959.1 and 47.3905.1); hence it is uncertain whether Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου) was really written.

2 Eudaimon is the patronymic of the sender whose name, if the present restoration is accepted, should contain no more than approximately eight letters. For possible identification of Eudaimon, see B.W. Jones and J.E.G. White-

horne, *Register of Oxyhynchites*, 30 B.C. – 96 A.D. (Chico 1983) 87-88, e.g. ##1642, 1644, 1665, or, in case the article τοῦ was left out and the sender had an even longer name, ##1649, 1652.

2-3 For τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως, cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* 49.3466.3.

6 In *P.Oxy.* 41.2958-2959 γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος β (ἔτους) follows πυροῦ συναγοραστικοῦ.

7 For εἰς δημόσιον θησαυρόν after οὗ ἐμέτρησα, see *P.Oxy.* 41.2960.21-22; in *P.Oxy.* 57.3910.14-15 one finds ἐμετρήσαμε(ν) εἰς δημό(σιον), not followed by θησαυρόν. Based on the size of the lacuna, I have abbreviated δημ(όσιον) instead of δημό(σιον) (as in *P.Oxy.* 57.3910.15), but at the same time it is possible to fill the lacuna with [εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γ]ενήμα(τος).

Probably we are dealing with the past (διελθόντος) second year, as in *P.Oxy.* 41.2958-2959. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 47.3335.10, where διελθόντος is not written either. There it is certain that it is the past second year, because the text is dated in the third year of Trajan in l. 24.

8 A rather short title is used here; cf. *P.Oxy.* 41.2960.20-21, where only θεοῦ Νέρουα is written. Besides Καίσαρος, Ἀρίστου may be considered (cf. P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* [Brussels 1964] 48-49), but the formula with Καίσαρ is much more frequent, while the epithet Ἄριστος is not expected before September 114 (= Trajan's 18th year); cf. D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*² (Darmstadt 1996) 123. The supplement here (16 letters) seems rather long, but the lacuna is in fact 1-2 letters bigger in ll. 8-10. Moreover, no other titles better suit the lacuna and the following τοῦ κυρίου.

10-11 At the end of l. 10 there is some space left after ἡγεμο. This suggests that the word ends here and is abbreviated. The last three letters of ἡγεμόνος are needed, however, to fill the lacuna in l. 11. Perhaps the scribe knew he could not fit in voc at the end of line 10 and decided to stop after ἡγεμο, to avoid the awkward break ἡγεμόνο|ς?

11 Ophis is a village in the ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχία of the Oxyrhynchite nome; see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (Firenze 1981) 227; Calderini, *Dizionario* 5:182-183, *Supplemento* 2:248, 3:167, and 4:147. The Minnesota text provides the earliest dated attestation of the village so far.

12 One expects the amount of drachmas requested, as in *P.Oxy.* 41.2958.13 and 47.3335.15-16, or the month in which the wheat was paid, as in *P.Oxy.* 41.2959.13-14. Neither seems to fit the preserved letters. It is not clear what this passage is referring to. For the combination σὺν ταῖς εἰς + a personal name in the accusative, see *P.Coll.Youtie* 1.29.4; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 26.4,9; *P.Mich.*

4.1.223.1622, 2906; 224.4913; 4.2.358B.19. However, in all these cases one is dealing with men paying taxes, in the name of women. Σὺν ταῖς εἰς then means: “(N.N. paid the taxes) together with the (taxes) chargeable to N.N. (female).”

13 Hippodamus is probably the name of the father of N.N., whose name ends in]δηγ (accusative). To fill the whole lacuna (of 14-15 letters) with the beginning of one long masculine name ending in -δης is problematic (a female name in -δη is theoretically conceivable). Various possibilities are listed in the *Konträrindex* that comes with the *WörterListen* (long names in -δης, like Ἀριστονικίδης or Τηρακλείδης, both of which are still too short, and one name in -δη, Πόδη, which is much too short). Another possibility is that we are dealing with two names, combined with καί, “also known as;” cf. *P.Coll. Youtie* 1.29.5: εἰς Ὀνήσιμον τ(ὸν) καὶ Ἡρακλείδην. For Hippodamus, cf. Jones and Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyhynchites*, #2385, although it is uncertain if this is the same Hippodamus.

14 Thmoinepsobthis is a village in the ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχία of the Oxyrhynchite, attested from 57/8 (*P.Köln* 3.141.11); see Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 57.

[M.J. Bakker]

4. *P.Minnesota 12^R: Receipt for the Price of Green Fodder*

Provenance unknown

3.8 (H.) x 3 (W.) cm

AD 120/1

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2353.3 (his own inventory number was “G 63”). It now carries the accession #1381984. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Papyrus fragment. Receipt for green (fodder?). Date: 5th year of Hadrian, 120-121 CE”. The verso is empty.

- 1 (Ἔτους) ε Ἀδρ[ιανοῦ Καίσαρος]
 - 2 τοῦ κυρί[ου, month + day]
 - 3 Ἔσχομεν [τὸ αἰροῦν σοι]
 - 4 μέρος ἀ[πὸ τιμῆς χόρτου]
 - 5 χλωροῦ . []
-

“Year 5 of Hadrian Caesar the Lord, [month, day]. We received the part falling to you from the price of green fodder ...”

For similar receipts of an amount of money as payment for (green) fodder, see, e.g., *O.Bodl.* 2.1689-1692 (II-III), *BGU* 19.2794 (VI), *P.Charite* 15 col. 1.11-15 (330), *P.Col.* 7.141 cols. 2, 4. ii,iv (310), *P.Flor.* 3.336 (VII), *P.Hamb.* 1.71 (149), *P.Herm.* 26.9 (V), *P.Köln* 3.146 (10 BC), and *P.Lond.* 2. 287 (pp. 202-203; AD 90).

[K.A. Worp]

5. P.Minnesota 13: Declaration of Exemption from Prosecution

Provenance unknown

8 (H.) x 5 (W.) cm

AD 140/1

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952 after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2353.4 (his own inventory number was “G 24”). It now carries the accession #1381985. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Papyrus fragment. Contract. Date: 4th year of Antoninus Pius, 141 CE”. The papyrus is now pasted on paper or cardboard, and therefore the verso is inaccessible; probably it was uninscribed.

- 1 [] . . . ν[
2 [περί ὧν] ἐνέγραψα διὰ τ . [
3 [. μηδὲ π]ερὶ τῆς γεν[ο]μένης δι-
4 [αιρέσεως μηδὲ π]ερὶ ἄλλου {περὶ} δενδὸς ἀ-
5 [πλῶς ἐγγράπτου] ἢ ἀγράφου πράγ[ματος]
6 [] t r a c e s []
7 [.] προσχρήσασθαι
8 [μη] . μηδὲ ταῖς ὑπογρα-
9 [φαῖς κατὰ μηδένα] τρόπον· περὶ δὲ
10 [τοῦ ταῦτα ὁρθῶς] καλῶς γ[εγον]έῃ
11 [ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑ]πὸ σοῦ ὡμολόγ[η]σα.
12 [Κύρια τὰ τῆς ἀνε]γκλησίας γράματα
13 [.] (Ἔτους) δ' Αὐτοκ[ρά]τορος
14 [Καίσαρο]ς Ἀντων[ι]νου
15 [Εὐσεβοῦ]ς Σεβαστοῦ []

4 μηδενός 12 ανε]γ'κλησίας Pap.; γράμματα

(ll. 7-15) "... to make use of neither ... nor the subscriptions in any way whatsoever. And having been interrogated by you about whether this settlement has been reached in correct and acceptable form I have agreed. This

document of exemption from prosecution is authoritative ... Year 4 of Imperator Caesar Antoninus Pius Augustus ...”

Apparently a declaration of exemption from prosecution, an “indemnity” (l. 12). The University of Minnesota collection has another such document, text 7 (q.v.). Unfortunately the original is much mutilated, and the wording of the text cannot be fully restored with confidence, as exact parallel documents seem to be lacking. Lines 1-5 feature word combinations occurring occasionally in clauses about claims no longer (to be) made by one party against another party in connection with a divorce and the division of goods (= διαίρεσις) resulting from it, but it is also possible that we are dealing with the settlement of a dispute (= διάλυσις).

1 Should ἐγκα]λῆιν or ἐγκαλέ]σειν be read? Cf. l. 3n.

2 At line end, read τῷ or τῶ[ν?

3 The phrase here occurs, e.g., in *P.Berl.Möller* 1.11: μήτε περι βιβλιδίων η[ca. 8 μήτε περι μηδενὸς ἀπαξαπλῶς ἐγ]γράφου <ῆ> ἀγράφου πράγματος (l. πράγματος) τρόπῳ μηδενὶ κατὰ μηδεμίαν παρεύρεσιν; *PSI* 7.775.10-14: καὶ μηδὲν ἐ[γκαλεῖν] | [σοι μηδὲ] ἐγκαλέσιν (l. ἐγκαλέσειν) μηδὲ ἐπε[λεύσεσθαι] | [μήτ]ε περι τούτου μήτε πε[ρὶ ἄλλου] | [μηδενὸς ἀ]πλῶς ἐνγράφου ἢ ἀγρά[φου πράγ]||ματος. Similarly phrased are *P.Stras.* 6.512.6-8; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 20.30-3; *P.Harris* 1.141.4-6; cf. also *P.Oxy.* 2.268.16-7; 14.1645.11; 31.2583.17; 36.2770.13; 43.3139.8ff.; *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.19.10; *M.Chr.* 162.27; *BGU* 4.1113.16; 1155.29; 1165.23; 1168.16.

3-4 Read δι|[αιρέσεως or δι|[αλύσεως?

4 Though interchange between τ/δ and ε/ι is common enough in the papyri (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* 1:82, 251ff.) I cannot convince myself that δενοϋς is an error for τινοϋς.

9 Cf. *P.Stras.* 6.512.13: μηδένα τρόπον, before which the preposition κατὰ should be restored.

13 Probably the start of this line contained a clause concerning the number of copies written, i.e. ἀπλᾶ, δισσὰ or even τρισσὰ γραφέντα.

15 One expects at the end of the line the name of a month (abbreviated by a horizontal dash?).

[K.A. Worp]

Oxyrhynchus	12.5 (H. x 8.5 (W.) cm	in/after AD 188/9
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The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2353.7 (his own inventory number was “G 107”). It now carries the accession #1381988. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Papyrus fragment. Census return. Date: 188 CE.” The verso is empty.

- 1 [... () β ... ρ ()]
2 [] . αὐτῶν Ἀρσινό[η?]
3 [ἐπ' ἀ]μφόδ(ου) Μυροβ(αλάνου), καὶ τὸν []
4 [] . ου ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ὕφ' ὧν καθή[κει καὶ ἀναγράφεσθαι
ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸ]
5 [κ]θ (ἔτος) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου . [κατ' οἰκίαν
ἀπογραφῇ]
6 [ἐπ' ἀμ]φόδ(ου)] Θου(ρ) ἐξ α τόμ(ου), καὶ τὸν [τοῦ πατρὸς
τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ]
7 [μου π]ρό(παππον) ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐν εἰδι τῶν τῷ [γ καὶ δ
ἔτει Νέρωνος ὑπὸ Κουρτίου Παυλίνου χιλιάρχου ἐπικεκριμένων]
8 [ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)], καὶ τὸν πατ(έρα) αὐτῆς Ἀμοίν []
προσβ(άντα) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ x ἔτει θεοῦ N.N.]
9 [ἐπικεκρισθ(αι) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ]δ(ου) Δεκάτης vacat []
10 []μη . Ἡρώου vacat []
11 [Ἐτάγη]ος Διονυσίου τοῦ Πλουτάρχου μ[ητρὸς N.N.]
12 [αὐτο]ῦ συγγενῆς Πτολλᾶς Σαρᾶτος τοῦ Πλουτάρ[χου
ὅθεν παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦτου ἐπίκρισιν δηλῶ κατὰ
τὴν γενομένην]
13 [ἐν τῷ ε (ἔτει) θεοῦ Ο]ὔεσπ(ασιανοῦ) ἐπίκ(ρισιν) ἐπ[ικ]εκρίσθ(αι)
τὸν τοῦ προσβ(αίνοντος) πρόπ(αππον) Π[]
ἐπ' ἀμφόδου]
14 [ἀκολούθως αἱ]ς αὐτοῦ ἐπήνεγ[κ(εν) ἀποδ(είξεσιν)] ὡς ὁ πάππ(ος)
αὐτοῦ . [] ἐστίν]
15 [ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) Καί]σαρος γρα(φῇ), καὶ τὸν τοῦ
π[ρο]σβ(αίνοντος) πάππ(ον) Πτολλα[] προσβ(άντα) εἰς
(τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ x ἔτει θεοῦ N.N. ἐπικεκρισθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς
προκ(ειμέναις) ἀποδ(είξεσι)]
16 [ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) τοῦ] αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν πατ(έρα) αὐτο[ῦ] Διον(ύσιον)
προσβ(άντα) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) [τῷ x ἔτει θεοῦ N.N.
ἐπικεκρισθαι]

- 17 [ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς] ἀποδ(εἷξει) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) τ[ο]ῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τῆς
μη[τρὸς πατ(έρα)]]
18 [] Διόσκορον προσβ(άντα) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ ἱβ' ἔτει θεοῦ
Α[] ἐπικεκρίσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀποδ(εἷξει) ἐπ'
ἀμφόδ(ου)]

7 εἶδει 11 Διονυσίου: ν over a horizontal dash? 12 συγγενής

(2) "... of them, Arsino[ë (?) ... (3) ... in the town quarter of Myrobalanos and that the ... (4) ... was selected by the persons in charge and was registered in the (5) house-to-house census for the 29th year of Aurelius Commodus ... (6) ... in the town quarter of (the *dromos*/temple of) Thoëris according to the first roll, and that the (7) great-grandfather of the father of the mother of my ... was selected (and mentioned as such) in a document of those who were selected in the years 3 and 4 of Nero by Curtius Paulinus, tribune, (8) in the town quarter of ... and that her father Amois, when he became 13 years old in the xth year of the deified emperor N.N. was selected in the town quarter of Dekate (10) ... town quarter of Heroon. (11) There was registered -os son of Dionysios son of Ploutarchos, his mother being N.N. ... (12) ... his relative Ptollas son of Saras son of Ploutarchos ...; therefore, coming to the examination of this person I report that during the examination that took place (13) in the fifth regnal year of the deified emperor Vespasian the great-grandfather of the candidate, P-, was selected in the town quarter ... (14) according to the documents of proof which he produced to the effect that his grandfather N.N. figured (already) (15) in the list drawn up in the 34th year of Augustus, and that the grandfather of the candidate, Ptolla-, after having become 13 years old in the xth year of the deified emperor N.N. was selected on the basis of the aforementioned documents of proof (16) in the same town quarter, and that his father Dionysios, having become 13 years old in the xth year of the deified emperor N.N. had been selected (17) on the basis of the same documents of proof in the same town quarter, and that his maternal father ... (18) ... Dioskoros having become 13 years old in the 12th year of the deified (emperor) A- was selected on the basis of the same documents of proof in the town quarter of ..."

Though the description in *Rotulus* states that this fragment is a census return, this is in fact part of one or two *epikrisis* applications from Oxyrhynchus; see the frequent use of the (abbreviated) perfect infinitive ἐπικεκρίσθαι (ll. 4, 7, 13), the (also abbreviated) noun ἐπίκρισις (l. 13), and various Oxyrhynchite *amphoda* (cf. ll. 3, 6, 9, 10 and the notes *ad loc.*). The most comprehensive study of this type of document is given by C.A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Ro-*

man Egypt (Amsterdam 1979). The selection (*epikrisis*) of civilians concerned mainly the categories of the metropolitites (cf. Nelson, Chapter II, esp. pp. 16-19 + addenda, p. vi), the gymnasial class (cf. Nelson, Chapter III, pp. 26-30 + addenda, p. vii),¹⁹ and the council of the elders (*gerousia*; cf. Nelson, Chapter VIII + addenda, p. viii). Similar status declarations from Oxyrhynchus are (in chronological order):

<i>Metropolitites</i>	<i>Gymnasial class</i>
SB 22.15210 = <i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.278 (67-79 ^p)	<i>PSI</i> 7.731 (88/9 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2.258 = <i>W.Chr.</i> 216 (86/7 ^p ?)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 2.257 = <i>W.Chr.</i> 147 (94/5 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1028 (86 ^p)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 10.1266 (98 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4584 (100/1 ^p)	SB 14.11271 (117 ^p)
<i>P.Wisc.</i> 1.17 (106 ^p)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 12.1452 col. 2 (127/8 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 4.714 (122 ^p)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3276-3284 (148/9 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 12.1452 col. 1 (127/8 ^p)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 22.2345 (224 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 3.478 = <i>W.Chr.</i> 218 (133 ^p)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 18.2186 (260 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1109 (160/1 ^p)	<i>PSI</i> 5.457 (269 ^p or 276 ^p ?)
<i>W.Chr.</i> 217 (172/3 ^p)	<i>P.Mich.</i> 14.676 (272 ^p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4585 (189 ^p)	<i>P.Turner</i> 38 (274/5 ^p or 280/1 ^p)
<i>PSI</i> 12.1230 (203 ^p)	
SB 22.15211 = <i>P.Oxy.</i> 10.1306 (215/6 ^p)	
SB 6.9161 (212-269 ^p)	
SB 6.9162 (212-269 ^p)	
SB 22.15626 (276-282 ^p)	

Finally, the Oxyrhynchite applications for admission to the *gerousia* are *P.Wisc.* 2.56 (209^p); *PSI* 12.1240 (222^p); *P.Oxy.* 43.3099-3102 (225/6^p); *P.Ryl.* 4.599 (226^p); and SB 8.9901 (235^p).

A comparison between the formulas found in the much damaged text above and various better preserved texts shows that our text(s) apparently contained one or more applications for admission to the status of the gymnasial class (cf. below, notes to ll. 13, 15). At the same time, the rather incomplete state of the present papyrus raises questions, the more so as the precise size of the lacunae at either side of a line is unknown, and restored elements can be moved from the end of a given line to the beginning of the next line.

¹⁹ G. Ruffini, "Genealogy and the Gymnasium," *BASP* 43 (2006) 71-99 at 96, adds *P.Erlangen* 23 to the *epikrisis* declarations for a member of the gymnasial class of Oxyrhynchus.

In its preserved form the papyrus contains two sections, ll. 1-9 and ll. 11-18. I will first analyze second section.

Line 11 apparently contains the name of the applicant/candidate himself: N.N., son of Dionysios and mother N.N., grandson of Ploutarchos.

Line 12 apparently presents the name of a relative of the preceding person, i.e. Ptolas, son of Saras, grandson of Ploutarchos. One may assume that the relative represented the interests of the person in l. 11, because that person was still a minor. The exact nature of the relation between these two people is not known, but if the two men named Ploutarchos were in fact one person, their grandsons may have been nephews/cousins. Thereafter, the application itself presents the lineage of the applicant.

Lines 13-15 mention an application presented in the fifth regnal year of the emperor Vespasian (72/3) by the applicant's great-grandfather and stating that the grandfather of that great-grandfather had already been mentioned in a list drawn up in the year 4/5.

Lines 15-16 mention an application presented by the applicant's grandfather in an unknown year, one generation later than that of the preceding generation (perhaps for the *epikrisis* of the year 98 or 117?).

Lines 16-17: an application sent in by the applicant's father in an unknown year that is presumably again a generation later.

Reckoning one generation as approximately 35 years on average (cf. the lapse of time between the application of 72/3 and the list of 4/5) and adding $3 \times 35 = 105$ years to the year 72/3 would take us to 177/8, not far from the 29th year of the reign of Commodus (= 188/9) referred to in line 5 (cf. note *ad loc.*).

Lines 17-19 refer to an *epikrisis* of the applicant's maternal grandfather in a 12th regnal year in the second century which cannot be pinpointed more closely than Hadrian 12 or Antonius Pius 12 (see note to l. 18).

I will next attempt to analyze the even more fragmentarily preserved first section of the text (ll. 1-10).

Lines 2-3 contain a reference to a person in the Oxyrhynchite town quarter of Myrobalanos. Line 2 seems to mention a woman named Arsinoe; she may have been an applicant's mother.

Lines 3-4 contain a reference to an *epikrisis* of an unknown person belonging to an unknown (earlier?) generation; reference seems to be made to the census of the 29th year of Commodus, i.e. 188/9.

Lines 6-8: reference to the *epikrisis* of a great-grandfather (= the great-grandfather of the father of the applicant's mother?) in an *epikrisis* under Nero.

Lines 8-9: reference to the (much later) *epikrisis* of the father of the applicant's mother.

Line 10 presents a reference to the Oxyrhynchite town quarter Heroon, but its link with the preceding lines and the context in general is not quite clear; is this line rather to be taken as a kind of “header” preceding the following lines 11ff., where no name of a town quarter can be read?

Unfortunately, the precise position of l. 5 (cf. the note *ad loc.*) within the part of an *epikrisis* application that seems to give the maternal lineage of an applicant over a series of earlier generations (starting in l. 3 with the grandfather of the father of the applicant’s mother?) remains unclear. Likewise, the precise nature of the link between the two sections in this text, ll. 1-9 and ll. 11-18 is hard to pin down.

2 As the document appears to come from Oxyrhynchus, there is no reason to assume a toponym Arsinoe *vel sim.* Probably the preserved Ἀρσινό[is part of the well-known woman’s name Ἀρσινόη; cf. l. 8n.

4 Cf. *P.Oxy.* 22.2345.4, where the reading ἄφ’ ὧν [προσέ]βην καὶ τετάχθαι proposed by P.J. Sijpesteijn (see *BL* 7:148) should be reconsidered. The photo now available on the Internet allows me to read here ὑφ’ ὧν [καθ]ήκει, a reading paralleled by the text of the Minnesota papyrus. The restoration of the infinitive τετάχθαι in the lacuna then becomes redundant.

5 Apparently this is a reference to a regnal year of the emperor Commodus while he was sole emperor (180-192; the lack of a word θεός seems to indicate that he is not yet deified). Indeed, one finds his regnal year 29 = 188/9 connected with a census year in Egypt.

6 Θοή(ρ): for the Oxyrhynchite town quarters Δρόμου Θοήριδος and Θοηρείου Θενεπμίοι, see S. Daris in *ZPE* 132 (2000) 215, 216; in his view, both names refer to the same topographical entity. If the first name is intended here, its element Δρόμου was apparently omitted for some reason (or one could resolve Θοή(ριδος Δρόμου)); if the second name is intended, its second element should also be included in the resolution of the abbreviation.

For the phrasing ἐξ α τόμου), “according to the 1st roll,” in such an *epikrisis* document, see the application for the gerousia in *P.Wisc.* 2.56.2, 5, 26 (209).

6-7 For the supplement in the lacunae at the right-hand side of l. 6 and the beginning of l. 7, see *P.Oxy.* 22.2345.5.

7 The expression ἐν εἴδι (l. εἶδει) occurs only in two applications for admission to the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class: *P.Oxy.* 46.3279.19 (148: ἐν εἴδει τῶν τῷ γ (ἔτει) καὶ δ (ἔτει) Νέρωνος ὑπὸ Κουρτίου Παυλείνου χιλιάρχου ἐπικεκριμένων) and *P.Mich.* 14.676.12 (272: ἐν εἴδει τῶν τῷ γ (ἔτει) καὶ δ (ἔτει) Νέρωνος ὑπὸ Κουρτίου Παυλείνου χιλιάρχου ἐπικεκριμένων (for the corrected

reading of the second year numeral as *delta* rather than *epsilon*, see michigan.apis.1549 on the APIS website.

8 For the phrasing καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς, see *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.9. Somewhere in the preceding part of the document a woman (most probably the applicant's mother) appears to have been mentioned. This may be the Arsinoe in l. 2 (cf. the note *ad loc.*)

9 For the Oxyrhynchite town quarter Δεκάτης, see S. Daris, *ZPE* 132 (2000) 214.

10 For the Oxyrhynchite town quarter Ἡρώου, see S. Daris *ZPE* 132 (2000) 216. Is this preceded by an abbreviation for μη(τροπόλεως)?

13 For references to the fifth year of *divus* Vespasianus (72/3) in applications for admission to the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class, see *P.Oxy.* 2.257 = *W.Chr.* 147.13 (94/5), *P.Oxy.* 10.1266.4, 24 (98), *SB* 14.11271.2 (117), *P.Oxy.* 12.1452 col. 2.44 (127/8), 46.3276.10, 3278.13, 3279.13, 3282.14, 3283.10 (all five 148/9), 22.2345.6 (224), 18.2186.7 (260), *P.Mich.* 14.676.4 (272), *PSI* 5.457.8 (269 or 276?), *P.Turner* 38 col. 1.8 (274/5 or 280/1). The name missing in the lacuna could be Π[λούταρχον (cf. l. 11) or Π[τολλάν (cf. ll. 12, 15).

15 For the wording ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) Καί]σαρος γρα(φῆ) in applications for admission to the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class, see *P.Oxy.* 2.257 = *W.Chr.* 147.21, 37 (94/5), 10.1266.11 (98), *SB* 14.11271.5 (117), *P.Oxy.* 12.1452 col. 2.54 (127/8), 66.3276.16, 3283.15 (both 148/9), 18.2186.4 (260), and *PSI* 5.457.10 (269 or 276?). This list of people belonging to the gymnasial class was drawn up in year 34 of Augustus = 4/5.

18 Which 12th regnal year is meant here? Probably the present text was written sometime during the reign of Commodus (cf. l. 5n.), so this 12th year should refer to a deified predecessor whose name starts with an *alpha*, i.e. Hadrian (year 12 = 127/8) or Antoninus Pius (year 12 = 148/9) or – for various reasons unlikely – Marcus Aurelius (year 12 = 171/2). Given, however, that both Hadrian's year 12 and Antoninus' year 12 are connected with *epikrisis* applications (cf. the list above), it is impossible to make a choice between these emperors.

[K.A. Worp]

7. P.Minnesota 17: Declaration of Exemption from Prosecution

Provenance unknown

7 (H.) 7 x 11 (W.) cm

5 May AD 191

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2352.8 (his own inventory number was “G 12”). It now carries the accession #1381989. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Papyrus fragment, Act of indemnity, reign of Commodus, 10th Pachon of the 31st year. Date 191 CE.”

Fragment of a medium brown papyrus of medium quality, broken off at the top and on the left-hand side. There is a lower margin of ca. 3 cm and a space of ca. 0.8 cm between ll. 3 and 4. One horizontal and at least three vertical folds are visible (the left-hand fold only partially preserved, in ll. 5-6); the latter divides the papyrus into three parts. Presumably a quarter of the papyrus is missing at the left-hand side. There are small holes in the papyrus, and a large one on the third fold in ll. 1-4, offering space for 2-3 letters in l. 4 and (at the most) 7 in l. 1. There are four hands, of which the first two look similar in their inexperience and broad, loose lettering. The second hand probably started at the end of l. 1; the third hand begins in l. 2. The latter features bigger, more fluidly written letters, while it consumed more ink. The fourth hand (in l. 4) looks like the third; it is a reasonably experienced hand with some ligatures, but again most letters are detached and in a wider format. Because of the different hands the number of letters in the left-hand lacuna varies. By restoring the dating formula in l. 6 it appears that ca. 5 letters are missing in ll. 5-6 (in fact, there is only a minimal trace of the dotted *alpha* in l. 6); comparing the amount of space taken by five letters in the fourth hand, it appears that in l. 1 ca. 7 letters, in l. 2 ca. 12 letters, in l. 3 ca. 9 letters, and in l. 4 ca. 7 letters are missing. The papyrus is glued to a piece of cardboard, making the verso inaccessible.

-
- 1 [. . . μοι ἢ ἀνεγκλησία ὥς πρόκειται. (m. 2) N.N.]
 - 2 [. μοι ἢ ἀνεγκλησία ὥς πρόκειται. (m. 3) Σω . [. . . .] . ο . . . []
 - 3 [.] . μοι ἢ ἀνεγκλησία ὥς πρόκειται.
 - 4 (m. 4) [.] νης κεχηρημάτικα [] αση . []
 - 5 [.] . Ἔτους λα Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
 - 6 [Καίσι]αρος τοῦ κυρίου, Παχῶν δεκάτη.

6 Παχῶν: χ corr. (ex v?)

“... the act of exemption from prosecution (is agreeable/came to me) as aforesaid. N.N.: the act of exemption from prosecution (is agreeable/came to

me) as aforesaid. So- son of N.N. (?): the act of exemption from prosecution (is agreeable/came) to me as aforesaid. I, -nes, have registered ... In the 31st year of Aurelius Commodus Caesar the Lord, on the tenth of Pachon.”

As the body of the contract is missing, one can only speculate about its contents, while using two parallels: *P.Stras.* 4.280 and (probably) *P.Harr.* 2.228.²⁰ Both are ἀνεγκλησίαι, i.e. a type of document used for resolving a dispute. The word ἀνεγκλησία is found predominantly in papyri; see LSJ s.v., where only its attestation in *P.Lips.* 1.29.13 (295) is mentioned. So far there are 12 attestations in the papyri, all from II-IV AD,²¹ and we can now add 5.12 (140/1) and 7.1-23 (191). The *TLG* gives only Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 6.10.10.5, and Oecumenius, *Fragm. in Epist. ad Philippenses*, p. 453.10,12. The word ἀνεγκλησία is often translated as “act of indemnity,” but the English is ambiguous. On the basis of the entries “indemnify” and “indemnity” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford 1964) two interpretations of the word “indemnity” seem possible: (1): Party X writes out a contract for party Y to secure the latter from harm or loss, or to compensate for losses incurred; (2): Party Y has already been compensated in some way and now writes out a document for party X, to secure, exempt party X against, from (further) legal responsibility (i.e. party X will no longer be sued by party Y to pay). The Greek term ἀνεγκλησία, however, does not allow both interpretations of the English term. It is a negative noun derived from ἐγκαλέω, “to bring a charge or accusation against someone, to prosecute, take proceedings against.” An ἀνεγκλησία therefore only covers the second interpretation of the English term and is thus to be seen as only an “act of exemption from prosecution.”²²

In its original form the present text will have described: (1) the conflict between two parties, i.e. an acknowledging party (one or more unknown in-

²⁰ *P.Harr.* 2.228 is a badly mutilated and therefore rather complicated transaction, resolving a dispute over property (*ed.pr.*, p. 153) – a scenario that fits with an ἀνεγκλησία; the editor, however, did not recognise the text as such. The only surviving words of the *kyria* clause are (l. 26) ἀνεγκλησίας γράμματα, supplemented in the note *ad loc.* to (e.g.) κυρία τὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας | εὐδοκίσεως καὶ ἀνεγκλησίας γράμματα | γραφέντα. One could equally well restore only [κυρία τὰ τῆς ἀνεγκλησίας γράμματα: “the act of exemption is authoritative.”

²¹ *PSI* 4.288.8 (II); *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.1.12 (III); *P.Harr.* 2.228.26 (III); *SB* 24.16076.11 (III); *PSI Congr.XXI* 17.9 (III); *P.Oxy.* 14.1717.3 (258); *P.Stras.* 4.280.19 (273); *P.Lips.* 1.29.13 (295); *P.Oxy.* 43.3139.15 (III/IV); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 44.24 (322-324); *P.Oxy.* 14.1716.20 (333); *PSI* 8.951.9 (388). The *WörterListen* do not list further attestations of the term.

²² See also F. Gonnelli, “Lettera di affari o memorandum,” *Comunicazioni* (1997) 34, n. on ll. 10-12. A more thorough discussion of the use of the word ἀνεγκλησία and its attestations might be interesting but does not fit the scope of this contribution.

dividuals) and a sued party (comprising here at least three persons), (2) the ensuing legal actions taken, (3) the settlement reached, (4) the clause in which the ὁμολογῶν party agrees not to proceed against the other anymore, and (5) the *kyria* clause (the ἀνεγκλησία is “authoritative”). Thereafter both parties subscribed the agreement, one (lost) in the active form as in *P.Stras.* 4.280 (οὐδὲ ἐνκαλέσω), the other three in a passive form, “the ἀνεγκλησία came to me” (see below, ll. 1-3n.).

1-3 It is likely that all three preserved subscriptions followed the same formula. Which verb had ἀνεγκλησία as its subject (cf. the article ἡ in l. 3) and governed the dative μοι (restored in ll. 1 and 2 after the model of l. 3)? When searching the parallels (see n. 21) for verbs used in connection with the term ἀνεγκλησία, only *P.Lips.* 1.29.13 produces ἔθετο (in *PSI* 8.951.9 θέσθαι is supplemented in the lacuna; cf. n.), but this is not in the subscription. Moreover, no form of τίθημι fits the trace in l. 3 here, which can only be ε or (less likely) σ. A more likely possibility is the verb γέγονε²³ or the phrase συμφωνεῖ μοι ἡ ἀνεγκλησία; see *P.Oxy.* 22.2348.51 (224), συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα. The three subscribers in this papyrus were (part of) the party against whom, according to the lost part of the document, no more charges would be brought; cf. the situation in *P.Lips.* 1.29 and probably *P.Harr.* 2.228; this document was not a mutual agreement to stop proceeding, as seems the case in *P.Stras.* 4.280.²⁴

2 At the end there may be a personal name in So-, followed by a patronymic. The penultimate letter has a long descending stroke; one may consider here a reading]ς ὁ προ[γεγραμμένος/-κείμενος/-δηλωθείς, *vel sim.* It is not likely that more letters were written in l. 2 after the *omicron*, and as there are only approximately 9 letters missing to the left in l. 3, which included at least the verb, it cannot have been written in full (like πρόκειται).

²³ The phrase “(name + patronymic) γέγονε εἰς με καθὼς πρόκειται” is used in numerous subscriptions. The fact that in our text μοι is used instead of εἰς με should pose no problem; see *P.Tebt.* 2.388.35-37, where, after the subscription of the ὁμολογῶν party, the beneficiary subscribes with Ζω[ίλος] | Ἀρμύσις γέγονέ μιν ἡ ὁμολογ[ία] | καθὼς πρόκειται. μιν has been corrected in the *DDBDP* to μοι; the photograph on the *APIS* website shows this to be correct. K.A. Worp, in “*P. Oxy.* I 37.8-9: Who got the contract?,” *BASP* 33 (1996) 69-72 takes the phrase as an expression of the physical possession of (a copy of) a document by the beneficiary. This interpretation was rejected by D. Hagedorn, “Noch ein Mal: Who got the Contract?,” *ZPE* 123 (1998) 177-180. For other attestations of γέγονε + μοι, see *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.22.17 and *O.Claud.* 1.166.6.

²⁴ They agree not to proceed etc. against each other ever again (ll. 11-19), cf. ll. 11-12: καὶ μὴ ἐγ’καλεῖν ἀλλή[]; comparing a frequently enough occurring formula this phrase can be supplemented in the lacuna, to: μὴ ἐγ’καλεῖν ἀλλή[λοις μηδὲ ἐγ’καλέσειν.

4 At the start of the line one expects a personal name in -νης as the subject of the following verb κεχρημάτικα. It is unclear what followed after this verb. Among the 23 cases from Roman Egypt found in the *DDBDP* (between 30 BC and AD 800) just “(name) κεχρημάτικα” at the end of the document is most common (attested ten times; see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 9.1208). In some cases, however, it is followed by (1) ὡς πρόκειται (see *P.Wisc.* 2.58.22, 59.23 [298]; *SB* 18.12289 col. 2.34 [309]), (2) χρ(όνος) ὁ προκ(είμενος) α(ὐτοῦ) (*P.Sakaon* 59.19 [305]; cf. *SB* 6.9618.28 [192], omitting α(ὐτοῦ)), or (3) a dating formula (*P.Coll.Youtie* 1.19.30 [44]; *P.Vindob.Tandem* 10 cols. 2.24, 3.27, 4.83 [54]; *P.Stras.* 9.886.15-16 [ca. 100]). Furthermore, *P.Freib.* 2.10 = *SB* 3.6293.14 (195/6) adds ἐπα . . + traces. Cf. also the situation in *ChLA* 43.1247.9 (V), where after the verb there is a lacuna.

In this text, the letter preceding the *alpha* in] . . αση [is either a *iota* or a *rho* and one might read] . ρασης [. I have considered the possibility of a personal description of the scribe after κεχρημάτικα (e.g. ἄσημ(ος)), but the trace before α that comes out under the lacuna and curves to the left is most likely ρ, which makes it hard to read (e.g.) ὡς ἐτῶν in the lacuna. Furthermore, among the attestations of κεχρημάτικα in the *DDBDP*, there is no example of a description of the registering official.

5-6 For the emperor's title see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* (Brussels 1964) 87.

[A.V. Bakkers]

8. *P.Minnesota 19: Fragment of a Regnal Formula on Leather*

Provenance unknown

7 (H.) x 4 (W.) cm

AD 256-260

This piece of leather was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2353.10 (his own inventory number was “G 133”). It now carries the accession #1381991. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Fragment on leather with remains of a date in the reign of Valerian, Gallienus and Saloninus. Date: 253-260 CE.” Light brown piece of leather of mediocre quality, broken off at top, left, and right. On the so-called front side fragments of seven lines are preserved. Dark red-brown stains (of ink?) on the upper half of the fragment, which make the first two lines mostly illegible. The end of l. 6 and the beginning and the end of l. 7 are severely faded or washed away. The lines contained approximately 43-47 letters, of which about a quarter is preserved. The writing on the back is mostly faded or washed away.

For the use of leather as writing material see E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1980) 8-9; R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London 1972). The HGV lists (as of February 2007) 27 documents on leather, among which there are 14 from Egypt (these are mostly late, i.e. VI-VII) and 2 with unknown provenance. The other 11 texts have a definitely non-Egyptian provenance (Parthia, Dura-Europos, Palestina).

The first two lines of this fragment seem to form the end of a document. Unfortunately they are mostly illegible, so it is not possible to determine the precise nature of the text. Lines 3ff. contain part of a dating formula of the joint reign of Valerian, Gallienus, and Valerian Caesar or Saloninus (for these emperors, see D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*² [Darmstadt 1996] 218-222). According to W.H.M. Liesker,²⁵ the accession of Valerian as a Caesar can be dated August-September 256, and his death became known in Egypt between 21 January and 26 March 258. Therefore, if in our text the dating formula indeed refers to Valerian, this document can be dated between the end of 256 and the beginning of 258. If, on the other hand, the titulature of Saloninus is intended, the text dates between the beginning of 258 and June-July 259/60. Cf. also P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* (Brussels 1964) 118-119. Of the regnal formulas mentioned by Bureth, the sixth is too short; more letters are needed in between the name of Γαλληνοῦ and the epithets Εὐσεβ]ῶν Εὐτυχῶν. Therefore, this must be one of the formulas including Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων, listed under number 7 on pp. 118-119.²⁶

Because of the space between ll. 2 and 3, it is likely that the regnal formula started at the beginning of l. 3. It is, however, uncertain whether the formula started with ἔτους abbreviated or written in full, and the year numeral could have been written in full or as a cipher. Due to this uncertainty, the width of the lacuna at the left could vary from 21 to 32 (in case of the fourth year) letters. At the right-hand side, the size of the lacuna is uncertain as well. This situation makes it hard to establish the exact distribution of the letters over the lines, and a perfect distribution of the letters of the regnal formula is not immediately apparent. Therefore, the transcription of the fragment is given first, followed

²⁵ W.H.M. Liesker, "The Dates of Valerian Caesar and Saloninus," in *Proc. Congr. XVIII* (Athens 1988) 2:455-463, esp. 460.

²⁶ Unfortunately, Bureth conflates the two Caesars, Valerian Caesar and Saloninus. According to Liesker (n. 25) 459, the only difference between the titulature of the two brothers is the proper name Saloninus (formulas nos. 1 and 3 in Bureth, 118). As the proper name Saloninus is lacking in Bureth, formula no. 2, this title must then refer to Valerian Caesar. The year 7 of *PLond.* 2.211 (p. 266) is very uncertain and could also be read as ε (checked on a microfilm by me).

by two possible reconstructions, one with the titulature of Valerian Caesar in ll. 5-6, the other with that of Saloninus.²⁷

- 1 [ca. 21-25 letters] . . ετη[ca. 18 letters]
- 2 [ca. 20-24 letters] . γυ . . [ca. 18 letters]
- 3]ν Πουπλίου Λικ[
- 4]νίου Ουαλεριανο(ϋ) Γα[
- 5]ων Εὐτυχῶν καὶ [
- 6] Ουαλεριανοῦ τοῦ [
- 7] ca. 4-5 λῖαν ca. 4-5 [

Option 1: Valerian Caesar

- 3 [(ἔτους) x Αὐτοκρατόρων Καيسάρω]ν Πουπλίου Λικ[ιννίου Ουαλερ-]
- 4 [ιανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιν]νίου Ουαλεριανο(ϋ) Γα[λλιηνοῦ Γερ-]
- 5 [μανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβ]ῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ [Πουπλίου]
- 6 [Λικιννίου Κορνηλίου] Ουαλεριανοῦ τοῦ [ἐπιφανεστά-]
- 7 [του Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν] ca. 4-5 λῖαν ca. 4-5 [ca. 9 letters]

“In the fourth (or fifth) year of the Emperors and Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus, Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius Valerianus, the most noble Caesar, Augusti, month + day ... -lianus ...”

Option 2: Saloninus

- 3 [ἔτους x Αὐτοκρατόρων Καيسάρω]ν Πουπλίου Λικ[ιννίου Ουα-]
- 4 [λεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιν]νίου Ουαλεριανο(ϋ) Γα[λλιην-]
- 5 [οῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβ]ῶν Εὐτυχῶν καὶ [Πουπλίου]
- 6 [Λικιννίου Κορνηλίου Σαλωνίνου] Ουαλεριανοῦ τοῦ [ἐπιφαν-]
- 7 [εστάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν ca. 2] ca. 4-5 λῖαν ca. 4-5 [ca. 9 letters]

“In the sixth (or seventh) year of the Emperors and Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus, Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, the most noble Caesar, Augusti, month + day, ... -lianus ...”

²⁷ Assuming a more or less regular vertical break at the left side, at least the number of letters to be supplemented in the left lacuna should be about equal in each line. If this assumption is correct, Option II could perhaps be preferred to Option I which is rather short in l. 6.

3 The joint reign of Valerian Caesar with his father Gallienus and grandfather corresponds to year 4 (δ or τέταρτος) or 5 (ε or πέμπτος), cf. Bureth, 118-119.²⁸ In the case of the joint reign of Valerian, Gallienus and Saloninus, we are dealing with year 6 (ς or ἕκτος) or 7 (ζ or ἑβδομος).

7 A month and day probably follow after Σεβαστῶν; in order to fit in the lacuna the month name must have been rather short (Θῶθ, Τῦβι or Ἀθύρ). Thereafter, the letters λιν might belong to a personal name, such as Αἰμιλιανός, Αὐρηλιανός, or Ἰουλιανός.

[M.J. Bakker]

9. *P.Minnesota 20: Fragment of an Official Letter or Petition*

Oxyrhynchus?

5 (H.) x 3 (W.) cm

AD 304-307

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2353.11 (his own inventory number was “G 149”). It now carries the accession #1381992. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Papyrus fragment; petition or official letter, joint reign of Constantine, Maximinus and Maximinianus. Date 305-306 CE.” Light brown papyrus of mediocre quality, with quite a lot of wormholes, broken off on all sides. On the recto six lines of writing are preserved, written along the fibers. The verso is empty. There are rather large spaces between the lines.

 1]λαβίου πε . [
 2] Ὁξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως καὶ ὡς [χρηματίζει?
 3]ν δι' ἐμοῦ τῶν . [
 4]τῶν ε) καὶ αὐτῇ ε) [
 5 (ἔτους)? τῶν κυρίῳ]ν ἡμῶν Κωνστ[αντίνου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ
 6 (ἔτους)? Σεουήρου κ]αὶ Μαξιμίνου τῶ[ν ἐπιφανεστάτων Kaisάρων

1 Or read]λακίου Γε . [?

“(l. 2ff.) of the city of Oxyrhynchus and however (s)he is styled ... through me of the ... and to her? In the xth year (?) of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, Augusti, and the xth year (?) of Severus and Maximinus, the most noble Caesars, (month + day?).”

²⁸ For the correction of year 2 in CPR 1.176.1 (p. 119) into year 4, see BL 8:99.

1 -λαβίου is probably the end of a name, probably Φλάβιος (occurs in Egypt before 324, according to the *DDBDP*, accessed February 2007). The other possible names in -λάβιος mentioned in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin 1957) 227 (Ἀβλάβιος, Καλλάβιος, Αἰσχλάβιος), are hardly attested.²⁹ It is not clear if this is a patronymic or the name of the sender in the genitive after παρά. In the first case, the next word would probably be a patronymic. In the second case, the next word might refer to a profession. The only possibility for the latter starting with πε- mentioned in Preisigke, *WB* 3:41, is πεδιοφύλαξ, but a *delta* is difficult to square with the traces. The reading of πε itself is problematic as well. The first letter might be a *gamma*, and I considered reading γευ- or Γευ-, but there are no names or professions starting with γευ-.

2 One might consider restoring τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)] Ὁξ(υρυγιτῶν) πόλεως; cf. 10.3-4 and note ad loc. The combination of πόλ- and καὶ ὥς in the fourth century (18 occurrences in the *DDBDP*, accessed February 2007) leads to the restoration of χρηματίζει in the lacuna at the end of the line (17 occurrences concern the formula καὶ ὥς χρηματίζει). This formula occurs normally in the address at the beginning of a document; see, e.g., *P.Lips.* 1.6.3 (Hermop., 306), *P.Oxy.* 41.2998.3 (Oxy., late III).

3-4 These lines probably contained the body of the text. If the first two preserved lines belong to the opening and ll. 5-6 refer to a date by regnal years at the end of the document, the body of the text was rather short. Too little is preserved to give a clue about the content of the text. The use of the regnal formula tends to make me think of an official letter or petition.

In an attempt to explain the rather short body of the text, one might also consider the possibility that the formula in ll. 5-6 refers to an imperial oath formula instead of a dating formula; see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 44.3192. Cf. also the note to ll. 5-6.

4 The letter before καὶ looks like ε with an abbreviation curl, and the same seems to be written after αὐτη in the same line. It is uncertain whether the abbreviation curl represents a letter (π?) or not, and what the abbreviation stands for.

The reading of the *iota* of αὐτη is uncertain: a γ or τ (with the horizontal stroke in the hole) can be considered, but there are no words attested starting with αυτηγε or αυτητε (no occurrences in the *DDBDP*, accessed February 2007). I do not believe that the uncertain *iota* (the late occurrence of an adscript *iota* is remarkable) should be replaced by an even more uncertain *sigma*.

²⁹ Ἀβλάβιος, e.g., is not attested before 331 (*DDBDP*, accessed February 2007).

5-6 Most attestations of the regnal dating formula of these emperors are dated to 305/6, the 14th regnal year of Constantius and Maximianus and the second regnal year of Severus and Maximinus; see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*² (Leiden and Boston 2004) 242-243, Appendix F, form E.2. Since year 13 = 1 and 15 = 3 are also attested a few times, a date in the years 304/5 or 306/7 cannot be excluded.

If, however, the formula in these lines concerns an imperial oath formula, as suggested in the note to ll. 3-4, the reconstruction of these lines would be something like the following (cf. Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE*² Appendix G, forms III-V, pp. 272-273): [ὁμνύω τὴν τῶν κυρίω]ν ἡμῶν Κωνστ[αντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ] | [Σεουήρου κ]αὶ Μαξιμίνου τῶ[ν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τύχην]. This formula does not need to follow directly after the address, e.g., as in *P.Oxy.* 36.2766.6 or *P.Wisc.* 2.61.5. Perhaps in ll. 3-4 the reason why the oath is sworn is briefly described, as in *P.Oxy.* 44.3192. Since the papyrus is broken off at the bottom and there are no visible traces after l. 6, it remains uncertain if the formula concerns a regnal dating formula and formed the end of the document, or an oath formula, in which case the dating formula is lost. An argument against the imperial oath formula might be the fact that αὐτοκρατόρων is lacking after ἡμῶν; see Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE*² Appendix G, forms III-V: in most of the texts from Oxyrhynchus αὐτοκρατόρων occurs in the imperial oath formula.

[M.J. Bakker]

10. *P.Minnesota 21: Beginning of a Document*

Oxyrhynchus 10 (H.) x 18 (W.) cm 29 October-27 November AD 443

The papyrus was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling in or after 1952, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 6 (1952) 26, #2353.12 (his own inventory number was “G 52”). It now carries the accession #138199. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Papyrus fragment. Prescript of an agreement. The only name preserved is that of Aurelius Theodorus of Oxynchynchus. Date: the year after the consulship of Falvius [*sic*] Eudoxius and Dioscorus, Hathy, 442 CE.” The verso is mostly empty; there is only a trace of a fairly large lunate *sigma* (?)

- 1 Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίων Εὐδοξίου καὶ
- 2 Διοσκ[όρο]υ [τῶ]ν λαμπροτάτων, Ἀθῦ[ρ x]
- 3 Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος Εὐλογίου ἀ[π]ὸ τῆς λαμπ[ρᾶς]
- 4 καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρ[υγχιτῶν πό]λ(εως) [
- 5 καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει, . . . [

6-7 traces

2 ὑπατείαν

“After the consulate of the Flavii Eudoxios and Dioskoros, *virī clarissimi*, Hathyr x. Aurelius Theodoros son of Eulogios, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, ... and however he is styled, son of N.N. ...”

1-2 These names are those of the consuls of 442; hence, their postconsulate fell in 443, a leap year (the date given in the description of the papyrus on the Minnesota website [see above] is ambiguous).

3 An Aurelius Theodoros son of Eulogios does not yet appear in the *DDBDP*.

3-4 For the epithets of Oxyrhynchus, see D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-293, updated in E. Grocholl, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 268-270.

4-5 In the lacuna in l. 4 after πόλ(εως) (itself an uncertain reading) one expects the name of an addressee (N.N.), followed in l. 5 by καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει. The phrasing καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει rarely occurs in late documents; the *DDBDP* reports in 400-600 only three instances: *P.Lond.* 2.153.4 (pp. 318-319), *P.Heid.* 5.343.5 (both texts are in fact dated to the fourth century; *P.Heid.* 5.343.5 = *P.Col.* 10.284.24, AD 311); and *SB* 1.6000.v.7 (VI).

[K.A. Worp]

11. O.Minnesota #1: Receipt

Southern Thebaid?

ca. 10.2 (H.) x 7.6 (W.) cm

AD V-VI

The ostrakon was acquired by the University of Minnesota from Erik von Scherling on 6 January 1933, after he had offered it for sale in *Rotulus* 2 (1932) 62 #1509. It now carries the accession #554185. Described on the Minnesota website as follows: “Ostrakon, red pottery, Egypt. Date: 4th to 5th century CE.” Against this it may be remarked that for various reasons (palaeography; the staurogram) a dating to the fourth century seems unlikely; on the other hand, a sixth-century date cannot be excluded. Though there is no indication of the precise provenance, the colour of the sherd seems to connect it with the southern Thebaid.

- 1 (staurogram) Μέτρ(ημα) τετάρ(τη) καρπ() πέμπτη·
- 2 τωπ() Λασταπι[]ρα, δι(ὰ) Πίτρος
- 3 (καὶ) Ἰερημίας (καὶ) κοι(νων) , σί(του) ἀ(ρταβ.) κς.

- 1 Or read πειγπη? 2 τωπ(), Πέτρου? 3 ἱερημίας Ostr.

Most probably we are here dealing with a receipt for the delivery of an amount of 26 artabas of wheat, but it is unclear whether this is a fiscal payment or a payment of rent *vel sim.* So much seems certain that the wheat was delivered by (cf. l. 2: δι(ὰ)) two men, Peter (?) and Jeremiah, accompanied by their associates (cf. l. 3: κοι(νων)).

1 A phrasing μέτρ(ημα) τετάρ(τη) καρπ() πέμπτη does not make sense. Comparing WO 2.1224.4-5: ἐπὶ κατασπορ() θ καρπῶν ι <ινδικτίωνος>, one may consider a phrasing μέτρ(ημα) <κατασπορᾶς> τετάρ(της) καρπ(ῶν) πέμπτης <ινδικτίωνος>, “delivery from the sowing of the fourth, harvest of the fifth indiction,” but I do not know of a parallel for such a phrasing in any Byzantine ostrakon.

2 At the start we probably have a Greek word starting in τωπ() indicating a fiscal district *vel sim.*, but then the question is, which one. After the middle of the fourth century the term τοπαρχία is excluded (cf. *P.Herm.Landl.*, pp. 9ff.). Is this perhaps a τόπος = “monastery” for which a delivery was made or ordered?

The reading of the letter after the *lambda* was suggested by R.S. Bagnall. Or read λασγαπ-? There is some space between the following *iota* and *rho*, but reading a broader letter for the *rho*, e.g. a *phi*, seems less likely, as there is nothing left of the upper structure of a *phi* which would be expected to be visible. The reading of Πίτρος seems certain, but the double error in the form (l. Πέτρου) is irritating.

3 Ἰερημίας is evidently written as an undeclined name; the normal genitive would be either Ἰερημία or Ἰερημίου. The reading κοι(νων) was suggested by R.S. Bagnall.

[K.A. Worp]

An Estate Overseer's Work Contract and the Meaning of *Exotikoi Topoi*¹

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Abstract

An edition of a work contract between an estate and an overseer (προνοητής) of a part of its domains. The text stipulates that any arrears from κτήματα or ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι are the responsibility of the overseer. A discussion of the latter expression follows.

The following papyrus, currently housed in Yale's Beinecke Library, is a fragment from a work contract between an estate and an overseer (προνοητής) of a part of its domains. Its main claim of interest is that it is several decades earlier than the only other two published contracts of this type, *P.Oxy.* 1.136 = *W.Chr.* 383 (583 CE) and *P.Oxy.* 58.3952 (610), both of which belong to the well-known archive of the "Apion" estate;² cf. also *P.Oxy.* 16.1894 (573), a work contract for a μίσθιος of an overseer, and *P.Lond. inv.* 2219 mentioned in the introduction there.

The preserved portion of this contract has a parallel specifically in *P.Oxy.* 136.23-31 and 3952.25-36, on the basis of which its missing left part is restored

¹ My thanks to Dr. Robert Babcock of the Beinecke Library for permission to publish the following papyrus and to Dr. Nikolaos Gonis for reading a draft of this article. I am also grateful to Dr. T.M. Hickey for supplying relevant readings from his preliminary transcript of *P.Lond. inv.* 2219. The image of the papyrus can be viewed on-line at <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/papyrus/> under inventory number 325.

² On these two documents, see most recently P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 51-55. On the Apionic προνοηταί, who were responsible for the close administration of a particular district (προνοησία, προστασία) of the estate, see further R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) 83, 138-144. For some older discussions, see E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 88-93; A.C. Johnson and L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 58-62; and J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine," *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 1-89, at 17-18.

exempli gratia. In this section, roughly just past the middle of the document, the overseer guarantees that he will make up any arrears in the collection of revenue from his own account with the estate, and that he will include the additional percentage connected with the receiving measure. The beginning of the stipulation concerning his annual wage is also preserved. Apart from some minor variations (signaled in the notes), the formulas of P.CtYBR inv. 325 are very similar to those of the Apionic contracts, the main difference being that the former groups κτήματα and ἔξωτικοὶ τόποι together in the clause concerning arrears, whereas these two categories are subject to different stipulations in *P.Oxy.* 136 and 3952. The occurrence of the expression ἔξωτικός τόπος provides an opportunity for an excursus on its meaning, which I believe has been misinterpreted in Peter Sarris' recent discussion (see below).

The provenance of the document and the owner of the estate with whom the overseer contracts himself are unknown. The owner is formally addressed as ἡ ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρέπεια (5), "your magnificence," an honorific title that does not imply a particular senatorial rank, but typically qualifies in the fifth and sixth centuries members of the "middling" local aristocracy such as *comites*.³ Despite the close verbal parallels with *P.Oxy.* 136 and 3952 and the fact that the representative of the Apion family known as Strategius II held the title of μεγαλοπρεπέστατος at the turn of the sixth century,⁴ there is no positive reason to connect P.CtYBR inv. 325 with the Apion estate. Large estates of the period, whether belonging to the *domus divina* (imperial family), the church, or the aristocracy, shared much in their administrative structure and generated the same type of documentation.⁵ Thus, the phraseology of *P.Oxy.* 8.1134 (421), a

³ See R. Delmaire, "Les dignitaires laïcs au concile de Chalcédoine: notes sur la hiérarchie et les préséances au milieu du Ve siècle," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 141-175, at 158-159: "ce titre n'est pas lié à un rang précis, comme illustre ou spectable ou clarissime, mais il s'applique à certaines personnes de rang plus ou moins élevé, selon celui qui l'emploie et selon le destinataire: en général, il s'agit de personnes de rang spectable au moins (...)." Cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen 1930) 28-29, and J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001) 150-152.

⁴ On Strategius II see Mazza (n. 2) 53-59, and N. Gonis, *P.Oxy.* 70, p. 78. He is styled μεγαλοπρεπέστατος καὶ ἐνδοξότατος κόμης τῶν καθοσιωμένων δομestικῶν in documents from the early part of his career; cf. *P.Oxy.* 16.1982.3-4 (497), 67.4615.3-4 (505), possibly *CPR* 14.48.2 (506). Though Strategius was a *patricius* by 530, a scribe could still slip back to addressing him as ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια in *P.Oxy.* 70.4785.17 (cf. n. *ad loc.*).

⁵ Consider, for example, the well-known receipts for replacement parts of irrigation machines, which are attested for imperial, ecclesiastic and several aristocratic estates over a relatively wide span of time. See the list and brief discussion by L.E. Tacoma,

discharge of a *προνοητής* of the *domus divina*, implies the prior drawing up of a work contract similar to P.Oxy. 136, 3952, and P.CtYBR inv. 325.⁶ It would not be surprising, therefore, if our papyrus emanated from the estate of a different magnate.

The document is written across the fibres in a hand assignable to the late fifth century or the first third of the sixth century; compare *P.Oxy.* 49.3512 (492), 67.3914 (519), and *SB* 20.14964 (517).⁷ All sides but the right are broken, with ca.15-17 letters missing at the left. The back is blank. The papyrus was purchased early in 1931 by Michael Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles from Maurice Nahman (Cairo).

P.CtYBR inv. 325

17.1 x 17.3 cm

V/VI

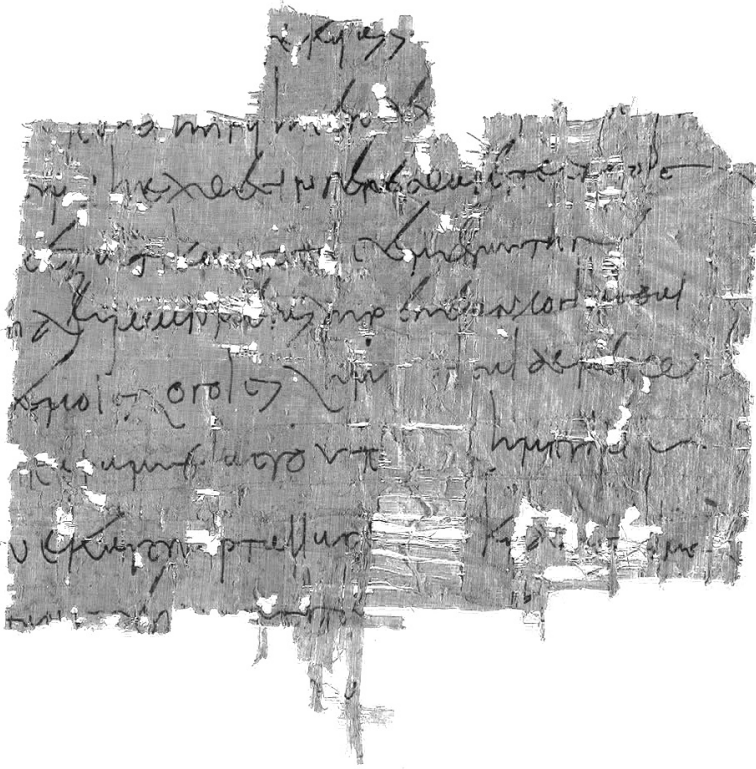
[]τε καὶ ἀλλ[] καὶ μετὰ τήν[]
 [γινόμενην παρ' ἐμοῦ] σπουδὴν καὶ ἦν ἐνδει[κνυ]μ[ι] μ[ε]θ[ο]δ[ι]α[ν]
 [περὶ τὴν εἰσπραξιν, εἰ δέ] συμβῇ ἔχθεσιν γενέσθαι εἴτε ἐν τοῖς
 [κτήμασιν εἴτε ἐν τοῖς] ἐξωτικοῖς τόποις ἐμὲ ταύτην
 5 [ἀποσυμβιβάζει, τῇ] γ δὲ ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρέπειαν λογίσασθαι
 [ταύτην ἑαυτῇ ἐν τοῖς] ἐμοῖς λόγοις, λημ[μα]τίσαι δέ με τῷ
 [γεουχικῷ λόγῳ ὑπὲρ] παραμυθίας τοῦ π[αρα]λημπτικοῦ
 [μέτρου τῶν ἀρταβῶ]ν ἑκατὸν ἀρτάβας . [ca. 3] καὶ δέξασθ[αί] με
 [ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ ἐμοῦ τοῦ] παντὸς ἐν[ι]α[ν]τοῦ σίτου [ca. 6] ε . []
 10 [] . γ []

3 l. ἔκθεσιν; v of γενεσθαι corr.? 5 ὑμῶν

“Replacement parts for an irrigation machine of the divine house at Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 120 (1998) 123-130 (updated in *P.Oxy.* 70.4780 introd.).

⁶ See *P.Oxy.* 8.1134 introd. and 7-10n.; *W.Chr.* 383 introd.; Mazza (n. 2) 141-142. The fact that Strategius I, the earliest known member of the Apion family, was the senior administrator of the Oxyrhynchite estates of the empress Aelia Eudocia has suggested that contracts such as *P.Oxy.* 136 and 3952, and the management of the Apion estate in general, were modeled on those of the imperial estates; see, e.g., J. Banaji, in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt* (Oxford 1999) 203. On Strategius I see most recently G. Azzarello, *PKöln* 9.459 introd..

⁷ Images of these papyri can be viewed online, the first two at <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>, the third at <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/search/>.



“... and in agreement with the care taken by me and the proper procedure which I demonstrate in the exaction. And if it comes about that there are arrears either in the holdings or in the outlying places, I am to balance these and your magnificence is to credit them to itself in my accounts. And (I acknowledge) to credit to the landlord’s account in respect of the consideration for the receiving measure, *n* artabas for every one hundred artabas, and to receive on account of my wage for the whole year (*n* artabas) of wheat ...”

1]τε καὶ ἄλλ[: These letters cannot be related to a clause in *P.Oxy.* 136 or 3952, but possibly read κατὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν] τε καὶ ἄλλ[ων, as in *P.Lond. inv.* 2219.10 (reading supplied by Dr. Hickey).

1-2 The articulation adopted here is that of Grenfell and Hunt in *P.Oxy.* 136.23-24, who take the phrase καὶ μετὰ ... τὴν εἴσπραξιν with what precedes and punctuate with a full stop after εἴσπραξιν. In contrast, J.R. Rea in *P.Oxy.* 3952.25-26 considers the phrase a temporal clause (“after ...”) introducing the

following conditions; this is syntactically difficult, however, for the first conditional is set off from the foregoing by δέ.

3 ἔχθουσιν (*l. ἐκθουσιν*): For this common spelling see Gignac, *Grammar* 1:89.

3-5 See *Excursus* below.

5 [ἀποσυμβιβάζσαι]: This verb, meaning to “settle a debt” or “to balance a deficit,” is attested solely in the papyri, mostly of the Byzantine period; see *P.Hamb.* 4.257.12n.

5-6 λογίσασθαι [ταύτην ἑαυτῇ]: *P.Oxy.* 136.26 has ταύτην ἑαυτῇ καταλογίσασθαι (*P.Oxy.* 3952.28 is restored likewise).

6-7 τῷ [γεουχικῷ λόγῳ]: *P.Oxy.* 136.28 has τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυνεία, *P.Oxy.* 3952.31, [τῷ εἰρημένῳ] γεουχικῷ λόγῳ; there is no space here for εἰρημένῳ.

8 ἀρτάβας . [ca. 3]: In *P.Oxy.* 136.28-9 the corresponding παραμυθία is 15 artabas per 100; in *P.Oxy.* 3952.32-33 the amount is lost. The length of the lacuna here excludes the restoration of an amount greater than 10. The first trace suggests *epsilon*, in which case restore ἐ[πτά] or ἐ[ννέα]. The nature of this additional percentage is not entirely clear; for some possible interpretations see J. Rea, *P.Oxy.* 55.3804, p. 128, who relates it to the so-called *cancellus* measure (in his view an accounting term meaning “inclusive of surcharges”).

P.Oxy. 136.29-31 and 3952.33-34 contain a further stipulation at this point requiring the overseer to hand over to the estate τὰ (ἐξ ἔθους) παρεχόμενα ὑπὲρ παραμυθίας τῆς αὐτῆς προνοησίας (12 solidi in *P.Oxy.* 136; *n* solidi and hay in *P.Oxy.* 3952).

8-9 καὶ δέξασθ[θ]αί με [ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ ἐμοῦ τοῦ] παντὸς ἐνια[υ]τοῦ σίτου [: On the stipulation of wages in work contracts, see generally A. Jördens, *P.Heid.* 5, pp. 157-159. Instead of a clause of this type, *P.Oxy.* 136.31-32 contains the vaguer stipulation καὶ δέξασθαι με τὸ ἐμὸν ὀψώνιον κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ προνοητοῦ, while the relevant passage of *P.Oxy.* 3952 is too damaged for secure restoration. It is known from some Apionic accounts that a προνοητής of the estate would typically (κατὰ τὸ ἔθος) receive 24 artabas of wheat and 2 *solidi* minus 5 carats; see *P.Oxy.* 16.1910.7 (VI/VII), 1912.130 (before 566; *BL* 9:191), 18.2195.89 (VI), 19.2243a.81 (590), 50.3804.154 (566), and cf. 16.1911.81 (557) with *BL* 9:190. The overseer in the present papyrus, therefore, would probably have received a payment in money as well. Considering his relatively small wage, it is also generally understood that a προνοητής would have extracted additional, indirect profit through the exercise of his function; see e.g. Hardy (n. 2) 92-93; *P.Oxy.* 55.3804.154n.; Mazza (n. 2) 142-144, 160. For a comparison

of the wages of various estate employees, see Banaji (n. 3) 236-237 (Appendix I, Table 11b).

9 παντός: The *tau* is difficult to reconcile with the visible trace; the expression τοῦ παντός ἐνιαυτοῦ instead of τοῦ (αὐτοῦ ἐνός) ἐνιαυτοῦ or παντός τοῦ (ν-ετούς) χρόνου is paralleled only in *P.Oxy.* 58.3933.17 (588); cf. also *SB* 18.13962.9 (Ars.; 630-645) ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ ὅλου τ[οῦ] ἐνιαυτοῦ. The annual payment, which is the norm in work contracts (cf. Jördens, *P.Heid.* 5, p. 158), may (though need not) imply that the duration of the contract is one year, as in the case of *P.Oxy.* 136.13 and 3952.15. In the Apionic contracts, such a short, probably renewable term has been interpreted as an incentive for accountability and efficiency (see Sarris [n. 2] 52, 57-58; Banaji [n. 3] 151).

Excursus: The Meaning of ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι

In ll. 3-5 of the above document, it is stipulated in one and the same clause that any arrears from κτήματα (restored in l. 4) and ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι are the responsibility of the overseer. The mirror of this clause in the Apionic contracts applies only τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις κτήμασιν in *P.Oxy.* 136.24-25 and μόνοις τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις κτήμασιν in *P.Oxy.* 3952.26-27, while a different clause is reserved for ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι:

P.Oxy. 136.26-27 τὰ δὲ ἐξωτικά πάντα ἐμὲ εἰς πλήρες λημματίσαι
καὶ εἰσπράξαι καὶ εἰσενεγκεῖν τῷ εἰρημένῳ γεουχικῷ λόγῳ

P.Oxy. 3952.29-30 τὰ δὲ ἐξωτικά τῆς αὐτῆς προνοησίας [ἐμὲ εἰς
πλήρες λημματίσαι καὶ εἰσπράξαι] καὶ εἰσενέγκαι τῷ γεουχικῷ λόγῳ

The neuter plural ἐξωτικά here refers to the revenues from ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι, which were previously mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 136.9 (προνοησίας τῶν ἐ[ξ]ῆς δηλουμένων κτημάτων καὶ ἐξωτικῶν αὐτῶν τόπων), 16 (ἐμὲ προστασίᾳ κτήματος Ματρεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμης Ἐπισήμου καὶ Ἀδαίου καὶ τῶν ἐξωτικῶν αὐτῶν τόπων τῶν διαφερόντων τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυνείᾳ; cf. 44) and *P.Oxy.* 3952.19; cf. also 136.18-19 (τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν κτηματικῶν τε καὶ κωμητικῶν καὶ ἐξωτικῶν). These ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι are traditionally interpreted to mean “outlying places,” a literal understanding that does not cause any serious difficulties (see below). However, there has also been a tendency among some scholars to favour *recherché* interpretations of ἐξωτικός. In the infancy of papyrology, M. Gelzer proposed that ἐξωτικοὶ γεωργοὶ in *P.Oxy.* 136.19 were “Hörige (...), die in *vici publici*, freien Dorfgemeinden, wohnen.”⁸ This

⁸ *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig 1909) 88.

was shown to be untenable by U. Wilcken, *W.Chr.* 383 introd., who pointed out that in line 16 of the same papyrus ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι are said "to belong to your excellency." Wilcken prefers the literal meaning: "Also sind auswärtige Besitzungen gemeint." Later, J.-M. Carrié equated ἐξωτικοὶ γεωργοὶ with the legal codes' *coloni advenae*;⁹ but I.F. Fikhman expressed skepticism over such an identification and concluded that "il est plus probable que c'étaient ceux qui vivaient en dehors des frontières des villages ou *ktēmata* respectifs."¹⁰

The latest attempt to argue for a non-literal meaning of ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι is by Sarris (n. 2) 53-54. In connection with the above cited passage from *P.Oxy.* 136, Sarris notes that whereas the overseer is allowed to fall into arrears in the collection of revenues due from κτήματα (so long as he makes up for them), "no such flexibility ... is countenanced with respect to the *exotikoi topoi*" (p. 53). This he takes to be an indication that κτήματα and ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι are fundamentally different types of landholding, which in turn leads him to dismiss the traditional meaning of ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι as "outlying places" and to identify them rather with the so-called αὐτουργίαι of the estate. His line of argument is as follows: (1) the Apion estate had a bipartite structure, consisting on the one hand of directly exploited αὐτουργίαι or "in-hand" and on the other of κτήματα or "allotments" that were leased out to inhabitants of the estate settlements (ἐποικία);¹¹ (2) the αὐτουργίαι were extensive and the predominant source of surplus for the estate;¹² as a result, "the income furnished by the *autourgia* is likely to have been rather more central to the concerns of the Apion household than that collected from the *ktēmata*" (p. 54), which would explain the intransigence regarding ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι in the overseers' contracts; (3) the above passage from *P.Oxy.* 136 "may also be read to imply that the revenues derived from the *exotikoi topoi* were to be recorded in a separate document-the 'landowner's account' or *geouchikos logos* ... possibly alluded to in the text" (p. 53); this would be consonant with Sarris' observation that revenues from αὐτουργίαι were not apparently recorded in overseers' accounts; (4) αὐτουργίαι came to be referred to as ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι through Byzantine periphrasis and specifically by way of the technical meaning of ἐξωτικός in the legal codes, so that ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι

⁹ "Un roman des origines: les généalogies du colonat du Bas-Empire," *Opus* 2 (1983) 205-251, at 231.

¹⁰ "De nouveau sur le colonat du Bas Empire," in *Misc.Pap.* (Pap.Flor. 19: Firenze 1990) 1:159-179 at 167-169.

¹¹ Sarris (n. 2) 31-36.

¹² Cf. Sarris (n. 2) 34 ("the main source of surplus production on the Apion estates"), 48 ("it was the *autourgia* that would appear to have constituted the foundation of [the Apion household's] wealth"), 86 ("considerable stretches of land"), 155 ("the predominant role played by the *autourgia* within the internal economy of the great estate").

would mean effectively something like “places standing in an outside legal relationship relative to κτήματα.”

Such an interpretation seems to me problematic on several counts. This is not the place to discuss the inherent difficulties in Sarris’ bipartite model of the estate and in particular the view of the αὐτουργία implied by (1) and (2).¹³ It will suffice to show that other mentions of ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι are not consistent with Sarris’ conception of the αὐτουργία and that it is easier to understand the adjective ἐξωτικός in the above passages in a spatial, concrete sense. This simpler meaning would render the rather forced circumlocution supposed by (4) unnecessary. It may also be noted with respect to (3) that γεουχικός λόγος is simply the equivalent of ὁ γεοῦχος, as demonstrated by the correspondence between *P.Oxy.* 136.25 τὴν δὲ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖαν and 3952.27 τὸν δὲ γεουχικὸν λόγον and between 136.28 τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖα and 3952.31 [τῷ εἰρημένῳ] γεουχικῷ λόγῳ.¹⁴ There is no implication, therefore, that ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι were the subject of a different account from κτήματα.

Since Sarris’ interpretation of ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι is based solely on *P.Oxy.* 136, it would be worthwhile to list and briefly examine all the relevant occurrences of the adjective ἐξωτικός in the papyri.¹⁵

(1) *SB* 26.16453.3-4 (?; V) λάλησον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀντιγεούχῳ περὶ τῶν ἐξωτικ(ῶν). The editors (H. Harrauer and R. Pintaudi, *Analecta Papyrologica* 10-11, 1998-1999, 116-117) translate as “Berichte dem Herrn Pächter über die auswärtigen Abgaben!” They interpret τῶν ἐξωτικ(ῶν) as the genitive of τὰ ἐξωτικά, that is, “die Steuern, die von Bauern auswärts der Besitzungen des Großgrundherrn gelegenen Ländereien erhoben werden” (4n.), though they do not exclude the interpretations ἐξωτικῶν (τόπων/κτημάτων) or ἐξωτικῶν (γεωργῶν). There is in fact nothing in the context of this letter to favour a particular interpretation, but the editors’ understanding of the term is clearly spatial (thus they translate *P.Oxy.* 136.18-19 γεωργῶν ... ἐξωτικῶν

¹³ T. Hickey, “Aristocratic Landholding and the Economy of Byzantine Egypt,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge 2007) 289, n. 8, likewise considers Sarris’ conception of the *autourgia* (as expounded in an earlier paper) to be “egregiously unsupported.”

¹⁴ Cf. also τῷ εἰρημένῳ γεουχικῷ λόγῳ in *P.Oxy.* 136.27, despite the fact that no γεουχικός λόγος was previously mentioned. For this periphrastic use of λόγος cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period* s.v. λόγος 7: “with the genitive of the personal pronoun it [i.e. λόγος] forms a periphrastic personal pronoun.”

¹⁵ I exclude as irrelevant *BGU* 8.1887.4 (I BC), the only other instance of the adjective in the papyri.

by “Bauern, die auswärts gelegenen Besitzungen (der Latifundiarier) arbeiten”).

(2) *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67021.v.1-2 (Aphrodito; ca. 567; see *BL*:1.103) ἀπαιτούμεθα ἑ[παρ] αὐ]τοῦ τὴν συντέλ[ει]αν' κτημάτων φανερῶν καὶ ἐξωτικῶν (*BL* 1:104: ἐξωδι(ασμένων) *ed. princ.*) [ἀ]ρουρῶν τοῦ μον(αστηρίου) Ψινεπόιτος. This document is a “plainte contre le pararque Ménas, qui semble avoir réclamé au monastère [de Psinepoïs] des impôts grevant des propriétés dont il ne perçoit pas les revenus” (J.-L. Fournet, in D. Feissel and J. Gascou, eds., *La petition à Byzance*, Paris 2004, 154 no. 26).

(3) *PSI* 4.284.3-4 (Aphrodito; VI) ἐδεξάμην παρὰ σοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου τῶν ὑπὸ σε ἐξω[τ]ικῶν ἀρουρ(ῶν) ... κριθῆς [ἀ]ρτάβας δεκατέσσαρας.

(4) *P.Oxy.* 16.2038.20-21 (VI/VII) (“Account of remissions of dues partly on account of unirrigated land (...)”) τὸ κοιν(όν) τῶν ἀμπελουρ(γῶν) ὑπ(ἐρ) τῆς ἐξωτικ(ῆς) γῆς ὑπ(ἐρ) ἀβρ(όχου) σίτου κ(αγκέλλω) (ἀρτάβαι) κδLδ', | οἱ αὐ(τοὶ) καὶ προκειμ(ενοι) γεωρ(γοὶ) ὑπ(ἐρ) τῆς ἐξωτικ(ῆς) γῆς ὑπ(ἐρ) ἀβρ(όχου) σίτου κ(αγκέλλω) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ'.

(5) Prescripts of overseers' accounts from the Apion estate:

P.Oxy. 6.999 (616/7) λόγος(ς) λημμά(των) καὶ ἀναλωμά(των) γεν[ο]μέ(νων) δι' ἐμοῦ Στεφάνου προ(νοητοῦ) Παγγουλείου σὺν το(ῖς) ἄλλ(οις) μέρ(εσι) (καὶ) Μα[ρ]γαρίτου καὶ Ἀμβιούτος καὶ Μαιουμά καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων.

P.Oxy. 16.2019.3-4 (VI) λ(όγος) λημμ(άτων) καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) γενομέν(ων) δι[ι] ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου υἱοῦ Φιλοξένου προ(νοητοῦ) προστ[ι]ασί[α] (προστ[ι]άτο[υ], eds.) οἴκ(ων) Τερύθως καὶ Θεαγέ[ν]ου] ς καὶ Εὐτ[υ]χιάδος καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων.

P.Oxy. 18.2196.3-5 (after 587; see *BL* 8:255) λ(όγος) λημμ(άτων) καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) γενομ(ένων) δι' ἐμοῦ Σερήνου διο[ι]κ(ητοῦ) καὶ προ(νοητοῦ) Ματρεῦ καὶ ἐν κώμ(ῃ) Ἐπισήμου καὶ ἐν κώμ(ῃ) Ἀδαίου καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων. Cf. also *P.Oxy.* 136.15-16 cited above.

P.Oxy. 18.2204.4-6 (550/1 or 565/6) λόγος λημμ(άτων) καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) γενομ(ένων) δι' ἐμοῦ Π[αύ]λου προ(νοητοῦ) προστασία Ἀσπιδᾶ καὶ Κυαμῶνος καὶ Φνα καὶ Π[ε]ρο[υ]εν καὶ Σπανίας καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων (see *BL* 8:255).

P.Oxy. 19.2243(a).87-88 (590) λόγ(ος) λημμ(άτων) καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) γε[νομένων δι' ἐμοῦ] Φιλοξένου προν(οητοῦ) Φατμηγντ καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων.

(6) Prescript of non-Apionic account: *P.Iand.* 4.63.r.1-3 (Ars.?: VII; see *BL* 3:86) σύναρσ(ις) σὺν θ(ε)ῶ κτημά(των) Πεζούλιος καὶ Ψαατις (καὶ) Μελανθίο[υ] καὶ Θμουει επακε καὶ Ἀμώειτος καὶ Ἀγήρωνος μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπ(ων).¹⁶ Ed. p. 149: “Qui prae-terea nominantur ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι, fuisse videntur possessiones extra latifundiorum corpus sitae.”

(1) can be discarded as lacking sufficient context to throw light on the specific meaning of ἐξωτικός. It is tempting to interpret the juxtaposition of κτήματα φανερά and ἐξωτικαὶ ἄρουραι in (2) as implying an opposition between φανερός and ἐξωτικός; perhaps the former refers to lands that were “well-known” in the relative vicinity of the monastery (cf. Preisigke, *WB* s.v. φανερός (2)), while the latter designates allotments that were further afield. It is possible, however, that φανερός here is simply the equivalent of the indefinite pronoun τις “certain, some,” as often in this period, without an oppositional sense to ἐξωτικός.¹⁷ In (3) and probably also (4), the implication is that ἐξωτικαὶ ἄρουραι/ἐξωτικὴ γῆ were subject to rent, i.e. that they were leased out, which does not agree with Sarris’ conception of the αὐτουργία as directly cultivated land. The prescripts of the Apionic accounts in (5) are the most immediately relevant for the present discussion. Here the regular addition of ἄλλων and the mention of ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι at the end of a series of ἐποίκια or villages do not accord with the importance accorded to αὐτουργία in Sarris’ account. Instead, they suggest that ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι were a supernumerary type of landholding appended to an overseer’s προστασία. This is reinforced by the use of the alternative formulation μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπ(ων) in (6), which likewise implies a subordinate appendage. A parallel phrase in *P.Oxy.* 8.1134.7-8 (on which see above, introd.) has παρεπόμενος (“accompanying”) in place of ἐξωτικός, suggesting an equivalency between the two terms: προστασίας Νεσμίμεως τῆς κώμης καὶ ἄλλων τόπων ~ 14-15 τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν κώμης Νεσμίμεως

¹⁶ After this the editor reads χρυσί(ου) ε [.] . . ιδ//. On the basis of the image (Tab. XIII) I propose to read χρυσί(ου) ε ἰνδ(ικτίωνος); see also the on-line image: <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv008verso.jpg>.

¹⁷ See Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period* s.v. 2, and Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. 1) and cf. *P.Lond.* 5.1676.9n., *P.Michael.* 41.7n.

καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων γηδίων ἄλλων; cf. also *P.Oxy.* 16.2020.32 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰερέων καὶ τῶν παρεπομέ(νων) γ κτημ(άτων).¹⁸

Landholdings of the Apion estate were centred on estate-owned *epoikia* and, to a lesser extent, independent villages. The unit of the estate, or *προστασία*, under the administration of a *προνοητής* included a variable number of such settlements.¹⁹ It is reasonably assumed that “sites within a certain *prostasia* were all close enough to be administered conveniently” by a single overseer.²⁰ The estate, however, will also have acquired isolated parcels that were not within the territory of any *epoikion* or village in which it had consolidated landholdings. The collection of revenues from these scattered lands was assigned to the conveniently nearest *προστασία* and the lands were subsequently referred to as *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι*, that is, places that stood “outside” the *territoria* of the *epoikia* or villages under a particular *προστασία*.²¹

This spatial interpretation of *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι* still needs to address Sarris’ legitimate question why different stipulations apply to the arrears of *κτῆματα* and *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι* respectively in *P.Oxy.* 136.24-27 and 3952.26-30. That the overseer was supposed to exact the revenues of *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι* “in full” need not indicate, as Sarris holds, that they were of greater economic value to the estate than *κτῆματα*. Rather, because *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι* were relatively small, scattered landholdings, the central management of the estate probably did not foresee problems in the full exaction of their revenues and expected the overseer to be able to make up automatically for any shortfalls. It would have been perhaps bureaucratically more cumbersome if such minor lands were included in the calculation of arrears together with the more significant units of a *προστασία*.

¹⁸ According to Dr. Hickey, in P.Lond. inv. 2219.8, the *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι* are qualified as *παρεπόμενοι* (“accompanying”) certain villages.

¹⁹ See Mazza (n. 2) 87-102, 179.

²⁰ T.M. Hickey, *A Public “House” but Closed: “Fiscal Participation” and Economic Decision Making on the Oxyrhynchite Estate of the Flavii Apiones* (Ph. D. diss. Chicago 2001) 258; cf. *P.Oxy.* 55.3804 p. 96; Johnson and West (n. 2) 63.

²¹ In describing *epoikion*-based estates of Byzantine Egypt, Banaji (n. 3) 173-174, is also misleading about the meaning of *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι*: “Large estates were invariably organized as physically discrete units centred on the settlements called *epoikia*. The discreteness of these units or land areas from the main village settlements is even emphasized in the Apion archive by the generic description of the *epoikia* as *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι*, that is, ‘outlying’ or ‘peripheral’ localities, with the implication that the co-ordinates of this system of rural topography were the villages themselves.” It is not *epoikia*, however, that are described as *ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι*; rather certain *τόποι* are *ἐξωτικοί* with respect to *epoikia*; cf. esp. *P.Oxy.* 136.9, 16 τῶν ἐξωτικῶν αὐτῶν τόπων, with αὐτῶν referring to the *κτῆματα* of the aforementioned *epoikia* and villages; *P.Oxy.* 3952.19 n. σὺν αὐτο]ῖς ἐξωτικῶν τόπων; and P.Lond. inv. 2219.8 referred to above.

Whatever the answer, the fact that κτήματα and ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι are subject to the same clause in P.CtYBR inv. 325 discourages the notion that they represent fundamentally different categories of landholding.²²

²² It has come late to my attention that R. Mazza, in her review of Sarris' book, *Journal of Agrarian History* 8.1 (2008) 150-156 at 153, also questions his understanding of ἐξωτικοὶ τόποι and similarly considers these to be "simply scattered outlying plots, located in proximity to, but outside of, *epoikia* or villages."

Une lettre copte du monastère de Baouît Réédition de *P.Mich.Copt.* 14

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Abstract

Réédition d'un papyrus copte de la collection de l'University of Michigan, qui provient de Baouît et qui porte le texte d'une lettre écrite par le supérieur et adressée à l'économe du monastère.

P.Mich. inv. 6859 porte le texte complet d'une très intéressante lettre copte du VIII^e siècle, qui a été publiée en 1942 par W.H. Worrell et E.M. Husselman (*P.Mich.Copt.* 14). Je propose ici une réédition du papyrus,² une discussion de la provenance du document, ainsi qu'une nouvelle interprétation du contenu du texte.³

Les éditeurs ne se sont pas prononcés sur la provenance du papyrus. Le document trouve sans doute son origine en Moyenne-Égypte, comme le suggère la confusion entre B et C (cf. note à l. 3: ΝΒΒΩΚ). Plusieurs indices permettent de proposer que le texte provient plus précisément du monastère d'apa Apollô de Baouît: (1) l'usage de la locution ΠΕΝΘΙΩΤ, littéralement "notre père," qui désigne l'auteur de la lettre (dans l'adresse). Il ne s'agit pas ici d'un nom propre,⁴ car on ne peut lire ΠΕΝΘΙΩΤ dans le monogramme du sceau, qui devrait indiquer le nom de l'auteur du document. Il faut donc comprendre ΠΕΝΘΙΩΤ comme le titre, appliqué spécifiquement à Baouît, aux supérieurs

¹ Chargé de recherches du F.N.R.S.

² Le texte a été étudié à partir d'une image digitale, gracieusement fournie par T. Gagos, que je remercie vivement. Une vérification des lectures sur l'original a pu être effectuée à l'occasion du XXV^e congrès international de papyrologie, qui s'est tenu à Ann Arbor du 29 juillet au 4 août 2007.

³ Je remercie B. Layton qui a bien voulu discuter du texte avec moi et qui m'a permis d'améliorer plusieurs points de ce travail.

⁴ Comme l'interprétait G. Schenke (*PKöln.* 9, p. 205). Il n'y a pas, à ma connaissance, d'attestation de ΠΕΝΘΙΩΤ comme nom propre.

du monastère.⁵ D'ailleurs, la manière par laquelle l'auteur s'adresse au destinataire de la lettre, un économe, suggère un rapport d'autorité,⁶ ce qui renforce l'hypothèse que ΠΕΝΘΕΙΩΤ renvoie au supérieur; (2) la présence du terme ΠΟΥΘΕΙΕΜΑΔΕ, "l'éleveur de veaux," attesté jusqu'à présent uniquement dans des textes du monastère de Baouït (cf. note à l. 3); (3) enfin, la présence dans le lot dont fait partie le papyrus d'un autre texte du monastère: *P.Mich.Copt.* 20 (inv. 6860) = *P.Mon.Apollo* 36, acheté comme notre papyrus à l'antiquaire Nahman, au Caire, le 15 avril 1936.

Le contenu de la lettre est assez difficile à saisir, comme le remarquaient les éditeurs: "As is so often the case, the essential point of the letter remains unintelligible while the rest of the letter is clear enough." Si je pense avoir compris le sens général de la lettre, tous les détails ne sont pas pour autant élucidés. En effet, le supérieur fait référence à une situation bien connue de l'économe et donc ne donne pas toutes les explications. En conséquence, l'interprétation des différents ordres donnés est en partie hypothétique.

L'adresse du verso indique que la lettre est écrite par le supérieur et adressée à l'économe. Il s'agit donc d'une pièce importante pour l'étude de l'organisation du monastère. Deux autres personnages sont cités dans la lettre: l. 1 ΠΝΩΗΡΕ ΠΚΥΡΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ "notre fils, le seigneur Platôn" et l. 2 ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΚΛ°/ΝΔΟΥΞ "notre seigneur, le très célèbre duc." Platôn est peut-être un pagarque du nome Latopolite (cf. note l. 1).

Le passage déterminant pour comprendre le texte se trouve aux l. 1-2: ΟΘΕΙΩ ΟΝΔΥ ΝΜΑΔΕ ΤΑΡΟΥCΩΚ ΖΝ ΖΩΤΕ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΨΗ. L'interprétation de la séquence ΖΝ ΖΩΤΕ a posé de nombreux problèmes; en fait, le terme ΖΩΤΕ désigne dans ce contexte une pièce de sakieh (cf. note). Il me semble que "les deux attelages de boeufs" (ΟΘΕΙΩ ΟΝΔΥ ΝΜΑΔΕ) sont destinés à puiser de l'eau "en actionnant les engrenages" (ΤΑΡΟΥCΩΚ ΖΝ ΖΩΤΕ) "au-dessus d'une citerne" (ΕΧΝ ΟΥΨΗ).

En résumé, le supérieur écrit à l'économe que Platôn demande que l'on apporte des attelages de boeufs pour actionner une sakieh qui appartient au duc. Le supérieur ordonne donc à l'économe d'envoyer quelqu'un qui ira chercher les animaux auprès d'un éleveur et les amènera à la sakieh.⁷

⁵ Cf. S. J. Clackson, "Jonathan Byrd 36.2: Another ΠΕΝΘΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΟΖΑΙ Text?," *BASP* 30 (1993) 67-68; *P. Mon.Apollo* 1, p. 11-13; S.J. Clackson, *It Is Our Father Who Writes: Orders from the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit* (sous presse).

⁶ Cf. le début abrupt de la lettre, sans formule de politesse, et l'usage de l'expression ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ' ΝΩΗΡΕ "toi, le fils qui aimes Dieu" pour désigner le destinataire.

⁷ Sur les sakiehs à l'époque copte, cf. H. Winlock and W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 1 (New York 1926) 64-66 et pl. xvii c (une sakieh actionnée

P.Mich. inv. 6859 = *P.Mich.Copt.* 14
l. 36 x h. 14 cm

Monastère d'apa Apollô (Baouît)
VIII^e siècle

Le papyrus est de forme rectangulaire (mais un peu plus haut à droite qu'à gauche) et de couleur beige. Il est parfaitement conservé.

Les cinq lignes d'écriture sont perpendiculaires aux fibres. Les marges sont conservées et le texte est complet. L'encre, de couleur noire, est bien lisible. L'écriture est cursive et régulière; elle est manifestement le fait d'un scribe professionnel. Le texte présente de très nombreuses ligatures.

Le texte est pourvu d'un sceau d'un diamètre d'1 cm environ, qui porte le dessin d'un monogramme qui contient les lettres Δ, Ε, Π, Ρ et Τ (cf. le dessin dans *P.Mich.Copt.*, p. 197). Ce sceau authentifie le document.

- 1 + ΤΑΡΕ ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ^Λ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΔΠΝΩΗΡΕ ΠΚΥΡΣ
ΠΛΑΤΩΝ ΣΜΝ ΟΥΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΣΟΕΙΩ ΣΝΔΥ
- 2 ἸΜΔΣΕ ΤΑΡΟΥΣΩΚ ΖΗ ΖΩΤΕ ΕΧΗ ΟΥΩΗΙ ΕΠΑ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC
ΠΕΚΛ^Ο/ ΝΔΟΥΞ ΠΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΤΗΟΟΥ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΟΙ
- 3 ΝΙΟΥΛΕ ΕΠΜΑ ἸΕΝΩΧ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΕΜΔΣΕ Η ΠΜΑ ΕCΖΙΩΩC
ΝCΒΙ ΠCΟΕΙΩ ΣΝΔΥ ἸΜΔΣΕ ΗΒΒΩΚ ΕΖΗΤ ΕΤΟΥCΙΑ
- 4 ΝCΨΟΚΟΥ ΝΔΒ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΔCΣΔΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΙ ΧΕ ΜΔCΕΙΡΕ
ΖΙΩΩC ΜΑΡΕ ΟΥΠΑΩΕ ΝΖΟΟΥ' + ΤΙΔCΠΔΖΕ ΔΕ
ΝΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ^Λ ΝΩΗ-
- 5 ΡΕ ΟΥΧΔΙ ΖἸ ΠΧΟΕΙC +
(sceau)

verso + ΤΔΔC ἸΠΘΕΟΦΙ^Λ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΕΤΤ// ΠΠΑΠ·Δ ΜΗΝΔ ΠΕΚ^Ο/ +
ΖΙΤΗ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ++

1 ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ^Λ: ΠΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛ éd.; lire ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ; ΠΚΥΡΣ:
ΝΚΥΡ éd.; lire ΠΚΥΡΙΟC 2 ΠΕΚΛ^Ο/ lire sans doute ΠΕΥΚΛΕΕCΤΑΤΟC
3 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΕΜΔΣΕ Η ΠΜΑ: ΠΟΥΕΙΕ ΜΔΖΕ ΗΠΜΑ éd. 4 ΤΙΔCΠΔΖΕ ΔΕ:
†ΔCΠΔΖΕΔ éd.; ΝΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ^Λ: ἸΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ^Λ éd.; lire ΝΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ
verso ἸΠΘΕΟΦΙ^Λ lire ἸΠΘΕΟΦΙΛΕCΤΑΤΟC; ΠΠΑΠ·Δ: ΠΔΠΑ éd.; ΠΕΚ^Ο/:
ΠΕΚΥ éd.; lire ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟC

“† (J'écris) pour que toi, le fils qui aimes Dieu, tu saches que notre fils le seigneur Platôn a rédigé une lettre pour nous au sujet des deux attelages de boeufs, pour qu'ils actionnent les engrenages sur une citerne qui appartient à notre seigneur le très célèbre duc. Alors, envoie un homme à la sakieh de

par des buffles; cf. aussi http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_egypt_bees_kareima/index.php/II6F11_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original).

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document, written on a piece of parchment or paper. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be in a different script or dialect than others, possibly indicating a mix of languages or a specific regional dialect. The parchment is aged and shows signs of wear, including tears and discoloration.

recto



verso

Ioulé, à la résidence d'Énoch l'éleveur de veaux ou à l'endroit où il se trouve, qu'il prenne les deux attelages de boeufs et qu'il aille au nord à l'*ousia*, et qu'il les amène là pour lui (= pour Platôn). Il (= Platôn) m'a écrit en effet qu'il ne fera rien pour cela. Puisse une demi journée suffire! (?) Je t'embrasse, toi le fils qui aimes Dieu. Salut dans le Seigneur. †

(Adresse) † Donne ceci à mon fils honoré qui aime Dieu, papa Mèna, l'économe. † De la part du Père (du monastère) † †.

1 ΤΑΡΕ ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ^Α ΝΩΗΡΕ ΕΙΜΕ: Le *finalis* est employé de manière elliptique. Pour le sens, il faut comprendre: "(je t'écris) pour que tu saches." Cette tournure est attestée dans quelques lettres, cf. p. ex. *P.Lond.Copt.* 1156; *P.Mich.Copt.* 15.

ΤΕΚΘΕΟΦΙ^Α ΝΩΗΡΕ: L'article féminin indique qu'il ne s'agit pas de l'adjectif θεοφιλέστατος, mais du mot grec θεοφιλία (cf. Förster, *WB* 334-335).

ΔΠΝΩΗΡΕ ΠΚΥΡΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ: Le nom Platôn est rare à l'époque tardive (une seule attestation à l'époque byzantine: *SPP* 8.1030.3). Or, à l'époque arabe, un pagarque du Latopolite du nom de Platôn est connu par quelques textes d'Edfou: *P.Apoll.Anô* 37.v.14; 38.v.11; 39.v.13; 40.v.6; 41.1 (début du VIII^e siècle). C'est le seul qui porte ce nom dans la documentation de cette époque (grecque et copte). Il pourrait s'agir du même personnage dans notre document. Dans les textes d'Edfou, on voit Platôn en relation avec l'émir et dans le texte du Michigan un personnage du même nom s'occupe d'une sakieh qui appartient à un duc (c'est-à-dire, dans ce cas, l'émir, cf. *P.Apoll.Anô*, p. 3). L'hypothèse d'un rapprochement prosopographique reste cependant très fragile en raison de la distance géographique qui sépare Edfou de Baouît.

CMN ΟΥΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ: Le verbe CMINE a le sens de rédiger un document officiel ou un contrat (cf. Crum, *Dict.* 338a: "draw up deed"). Pour désigner le fait d'écrire une lettre, on utilise normalement le verbe C2ΔΙ. Il est probable que le terme ἐπιστολή désigne dans ce texte non une lettre, mais un document de nature officielle (cf. p. ex. *P.Bal.* 2, p. 665). Hormis ce texte, j'ai trouvé quatre autres attestations de l'emploi de CMN avec le mot ἐπιστολή. Dans *P.Bal.* 2.239, le contexte est clairement officiel: il est question à la l. suivante de rédiger un σιγίλλιον (l. 4: ΤΕΚCMN ΟΥΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ "et qu'il rédige une lettre"). Dans *P.Mon.Epiph.* 134, il est question de la copie de la lettre d'un évêque (l. 1-2: ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΠΙCΚ ΔΙCΜΙΝΤΙ ΔΑΝΤΗΝΟΟΥCΙ "voici la copie de la lettre de notre père, le seigneur l'évêque, nous l'avons rédigée et nous l'envoyons"). On peut, dans ce cas aussi, imaginer que la lettre de l'évêque revêt un caractère officiel. Dans *P.Lond.Copt.* 1115, le texte dit clairement que la lettre a la valeur d'un contrat (l. 10: ΔΙCΜΝ

ΤΙΘΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΑΚ ΕΣΟ ΝΑΦΔΑΛΕΙΑ “j’ai rédigé pour toi cette lettre qui est une *asphaleia*”). Dans *P.Ryl.Copt.* 323, l’auteur est qualifié de notaire et la lettre qu’il écrit est pourvue d’un sceau ; les “lettres” dont il est question ont peut-être à ses yeux une valeur juridique qui justifie l’emploi du terme ΣMN (l. 1: $\text{MNNC}\Delta \text{ TP}\Delta\text{CMN} \text{ T}\Psi\text{OP}\Pi \text{ NEΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΑΚ}$ “après que j’ai rédigé la première lettre pour toi;” l. 2-3: $\Delta\text{C}\text{CMN} \mid \text{OY}\Theta\text{ΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΑΙ}$ “il m’a rédigé une lettre”). Dans le texte réédité ici, l’emploi du verbe ΣMINE indique donc que le terme $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$ ne désigne pas une simple lettre, mais un document officiel (un ordre de réquisition p. ex.).

2 $\Sigma\text{N} \Sigma\text{WT}\Theta$: Le terme $\Sigma\text{WT}\Theta$ n’a pas été compris par les éditeurs du texte: “neither ‘tribute’ nor ‘wooden roller’ will do here.” En conséquence, le mot a reçu une entrée dans R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum* (Le Caire 1964) 102: “ $\Sigma\text{WT}\Theta$ n., sens inconnu.” Le contexte permet de comprendre que le terme a un rapport avec la *sakieh*. Or, le terme $\Sigma\text{WT}\Theta$ est l’équivalent copte du grec $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ (attesté dans Crum, *Dict.* 722a), qui signifie la dent de l’engrenage, soit sans doute les pièces de bois qu’actionnent les animaux (cf. D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l’eau du Nil dans l’Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* [Leiden, New York, and Köln 1993] 111). C’est ce sens qu’il faut choisir ici.

$\text{OY}\Psi\text{H}\text{I}$: Le terme $\Psi\text{H}\text{I}$ signifie “puits, citerne.” Dans une *sakieh*, le mot désigne spécifiquement le réservoir ($\lambda\alpha\kappa\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ en grec).

$\text{EΠ}\Delta \text{ ΠENXOEIC} \text{ ΠEK}\lambda^{\circ} / \text{N}\Delta\text{OY}\Sigma \text{ ΠE}$: Le duc est un très haut responsable administratif, il se place au-dessus du pagarque. Il doit s’agir ici du duc de Thébaïde, qui réside à Antinoé. L’abréviation $\text{EK}\lambda^{\circ} /$ n’est pas attestée ailleurs. Les ducs portent de manière régulière le titre honorifique $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ “très célèbre” (le terme s’applique aux ducs et aux pagarches/émirs). Les abréviations courantes de ce mot sont $\text{EYK}\lambda /$ ou $\text{EYK}\lambda\Theta /$ (cf. Förster, *WB* 305; il faut noter que, dans la ligature EY , l’Y est parfois pratiquement invisible, ce qui pourrait être le cas dans ce texte).

2-3 $\text{E}\Phi\text{O}\text{I} \mid \text{N}\text{I}\text{OY}\lambda\Theta$: Le mot copte ΣOI a les sens de “champ” et de “*sakieh*.” Le contexte invite plutôt à choisir la seconde acception. De même dans *P.Lond.Copt.* 1112, 3-4, la séquence $\text{E}\text{C} \text{ MNEMNT} \text{ EΠ}\Psi\text{H}\text{I} \text{ EΠ} \mid \text{OY}\Sigma \text{ NN}\epsilon\text{Z}\Delta\lambda\lambda\text{AT}\Theta$ doit sans doute se traduire “qui se trouve à l’ouest de la citerne de la *sakieh* des oiseaux.” Le sens exact de ce passage pose problème: le supérieur demande à l’économe d’envoyer quelqu’un à la *sakieh* de Ioulé et à l’endroit où se trouve Énoch. Peut-être la résidence d’Énoch se situe-t-elle dans le territoire de la *sakieh* de Ioulé? À moins qu’il ne faille comprendre qu’il faut envoyer un homme “attaché” à la *sakieh* de Ioulé (avec Θ à la place de N) à la résidence d’Énoch.

3 ΕΠΜΑ ΝΕΝΩΧ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΕΜΑϸΕ: De très nombreux toponymes sont formés sur ΠΜΑ Η- “le lieu de.” Dans cette lettre pourtant, l’expression ne désigne pas un lieu-dit. Il faut la comprendre comme le lieu (de résidence) d’Énoch, l’éleveur de veaux. Les éditeurs avaient mal lu le passage: ΜΑϨΕ Η, qu’ils interprétaient ΜΑϨΕ Θ-, “if he finds (?) the place on which he is.”

ΠΟΥΘΕΙΕΜΑϸΕ: Dans l’état actuel de la documentation, le terme est attesté dans quatre ordres de transport à *incipit* ΨΙΝΕ ΝϸΑ (SB Kopt. 1.226 et 231, O.Bawit IFAO 2, 6 et O.Nancy, l. 4-5). Le sens du mot découle des deux mots qui le composent ΟΥΘΕΙΕ “fermier” et ΜΑϸΕ “boeuf, veau.” Il s’agit donc d’un éleveur de veaux (cf. F. Bilabel, “Aegyptiaca II,” *Aegyptus* 13, 1933, 558: “Stierbauer”). Ce sens est particulièrement clair dans ce texte puisque c’est chez le ΠΟΥΘΕΙΕΜΑϸΕ qu’il faut aller chercher les quatre veaux (ou boeufs). On peut comparer le terme au mot grec, très rare également, μσχτοτρόφος (attesté dans P.Bru. inv. E. 9146 v., qui provient également du monastère de Baouît; cf. A. Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs du monastère d’apa Apollô de Baouît conservés aux Musées royaux d’Art et d’histoire de Bruxelles* [Bruxelles 2007] n° 28).

Η: Il s’agit de la particule disjonctive grecque, couramment attestée dans les textes coptes (cf. Förster, WB 321).

ΝΒΒΩΚ: La confusion entre Β et ϸ est courante, spécialement en Moyenne-Égypte. On remarquera que dans ce texte le scribe hésite souvent entre Β et ϸ: ΝΒΒΩΚ (l. 3) et ΝΔΒ (l. 4), mais ΝϸΒΙ (l. 3) et ΜΑϸΕΙΡΕ (l. 4).

ΕΤΟΥϸΙΑ: Le terme οὐσία désigne un domaine foncier (cf. Förster, WB 596-597). Le contexte semble indiquer que l’ousia en question est celle du duc. Il pourrait aussi s’agir d’un toponyme (cf. Timm 2839). En effet dans quelques textes le terme semble avoir pris la valeur d’un lieu-dit (cf. PRyl.Copt. 124, l. 4: ΔΠΛΩ ΠΑ ΤΟΥϸΙΑ “Aplô celui de l’ousia (ou de Tousia),” O.Mich.Copt. 21, 2-3: du vin Ν|ΤΕ ΘΕΥϸΙΑ “de l’ousia (ou de Theusia)” et aussi B.P. Muhs, K.A. Worp, et J. van der Vliet, “Ostraca and Mummy Labels in Los Angeles,” BASP 43, 2006, 9-58, en particulier 55).

4 ΔϸϸΔΙ: Le sujet du verbe est Platôn. On trouve ici le mot ϸϸΔΙ “écrire,” tandis que l. 1 le verbe utilisé était ϸΜΙΝΕ “rédiger.”

ΜΑΡΕ ΟΥΠΑΨΕ ΝϨΟΟΥ: L’expression est, comme l’avaient remarqué les éditeurs du texte, elliptique. Pour le sens, il semblerait que le supérieur veuille dire que ce qu’il demande ne prendra pas plus d’une demi-journée de travail. Il est difficile de déterminer si la croix après ΝϨΟΟΥ sépare les salutations du message principal ou s’il faut y voir le verbe † “donner” (signifiant “suffire” dans le contexte?).

ΤΙΔΟΠΑΖΘ ΔΘ: Les lettres sont ligaturées, ce qui a entraîné la mauvaise lecture de la première édition. La particule grecque δέ est utilisée pour changer de sujet. La lettre n'a traité jusqu'à présent que d'affaires importantes (il n'y a pas la moindre salutation au début du texte) et se conclut par une formule de politesse. On peut citer comme parallèle *P.Lond.Copt.* 1115: la lettre commence comme celle-ci par un *finalis* et la formule de politesse y est aussi placée à la fin du texte.

verso ΠΠΑΠ·Δ ΜΗΝΔ ΠΕΚ°/: Un linteau de bois conservé au British Museum, et qui provient de Baouît à en juger par l'inscription, mentionne ΠΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΔ ΠΕΚΩΝΟΜΟΣ (cf. E. Enß, *Holzschneitzereien der spätantiken bis frühislamischen Zeit aus Ägypten. Funktion und Dekor* [Wiesbaden 2005] 111, n° 21). Il pourrait s'agir du même personnage. On peut même se demander si ce personnage n'est pas à identifier avec le célèbre Mèna de l'icône du Louvre (cf. ma contribution à paraître dans les actes des XI^e journées d'études coptes, Marseille, 5-7 juin 2007).

ΠΕΚ°/: Le terme grec οἰκονόμος est souvent écrit en copte avec un Θ à la place du ΟΙ (ΕΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ p. ex., cf. Förster, *WB* 563-565; la confusion entre Θ et ΟΙ est attestée dans les papyrus grecs, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* 1:274-275). Le mot est aussi souvent abrégé, p. ex. en οἰκ°(νός), cf. Förster, *WB* 563-565. Les éditeurs avaient lu la séquence ΠΕΚΥ, qu'ils comprenaient comme une abréviation de ΠΕΝΚΥΡΙΟΣ "notre seigneur." Cette hypothèse n'est pas plausible: ΚΥ n'est pas une abréviation connue de κύριος et il n'est pas possible d'expliquer la disparition du Ν de ΠΕΝ. La lecture ΠΕΚ°/ interprétée comme "l'économe" avait déjà été proposée par W.E. Crum (compte rendu de *P.Mich.Copt.* dans *JThS* 44 [1943] 122-128, en particulier 125).

ΠΕΝΘΙΩΤ: Le terme désigne le supérieur du monastère de Baouît, cf. *supra*. Le nom de l'archimandrite doit se lire dans le monogramme estampillé sur le sceau d'argile (Δ, Θ, Π, Ρ et Τ). Avec ces lettres, on peut former le nom ΠΕΤΡΔ, un nom propre masculin attesté dans quelques documents (cf. p. ex. *BKU* 3.355; 409; 423; *CPR* 4.75; 76; 95; 183; *P.Lond.Copt.* 1063; 1076; ainsi sans doute que dans une lettre qui provient de Baouît: *P.Camb. UL Michael.* 815/2, l. 14; cf. S. Clackson, "Reconstructing the Archives of the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit," dans B. Palme, ed., *Akten des 23. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* [Wien 2007] 219-236). Il faut noter qu'on trouve l'expression ΠΕΝΘΙΩΤ pour désigner l'auteur d'une autre lettre copte: *P.CtYBR inv.* 1851 (inédit). Ce texte provient aussi, selon toute vraisemblance, du monastère de Baouît.

Leinenhändler im Herakleopolites in arabischer Zeit P.Vindob. A.P. 15021 (*PERF* 576)¹

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Abstract

Edition und Kommentar eines arabischen Briefes (aus der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts), der von einem muslimischen Kaufmann auf einer Handelsreise in al-Fuṣṭāṭ an seine Frau in Herakleopolis Magna geschickt wurde. Sie soll mit einem Schiff nach al-Fuṣṭāṭ kommen und hochwertige Leintücher (*bazz*) mitbringen. Bemerkenswert sind die unkonventionellen Eulogien zu Anfang des Briefes.

Verfasser des vorliegenden Briefes ist der muslimische Kaufmann Maymūn b. ‘Abdallāh, der sich zu geschäftlichen Zwecken in der Hauptstadt al-Fuṣṭāṭ aufhält. Er schickt den Brief an seine Frau und seinen Sohn, die beide im heimischen Ihnās (Herakleopolis Magna) zurückgeblieben sind. Nach einleitenden frommen Formeln kommt er auf persönliches zu sprechen: Er ist bei guter Gesundheit (Z. r.9–10), leidet jedoch unter Heimweh und möchte lieber heute als morgen nach Ihnās zurückkehren, kann jedoch al-Fuṣṭāṭ auf-

¹ Die von mir verwendeten Abkürzungen sind am Ende des Aufsatzes aufgelistet. Vgl. auch die in *BASP* 42 (2005) 127-166, veröffentlichte “Checklist of Arabic Papyri” (P.M. Sijpesteijn, J.F. Oates, A. Kaplony). Ich danke Prof. P. Sijpesteijn (Leiden), Prof. W. Diem (Köln) und Prof. A. Kaplony (Zürich) für wichtige Lesungen und zahlreiche Anmerkungen. Mein besonderer Dank aber gilt Prof. C. Römer (Wien), Direktorin der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, für stetige Hilfsbereitschaft und vielfältige Unterstützung bei der Arbeit und die Erlaubnis zur Publikation.

Das Manuskript lag schon abgeschlossen vor, als ich bemerkte, dass dasselbe Stück A.P. 15021 schon einmal von S. Muḡāwiri Muḡammad als A.P. 1502 veröffentlicht worden ist (Muḡāwiri, *Alqāb* 3.117). Da es sich bei dessen Arbeit jedoch nur um eine Abschrift (ohne Formalbeschreibung, Übersetzung, Kommentar oder inhaltliche Einordnung) handelt, die zudem mit Ungenauigkeiten und erheblichen Lesefehlern behaftet ist, halte ich eine erneute Veröffentlichung dieses wichtigen Textes erst recht für geboten.

grund seiner Handelsgeschäfte nicht verlassen (r.12-15). Dann kommt er zum eigentlichen Anliegen seines Schreibens: Die Ehefrau soll ein Schiff (*safīna*) anmieten und nach al-Fuṣṭāṭ hinterherreisen (r.18-19). Er hat bereits einen gewissen Sulaymān zu ihr geschickt, der ihr bei dieser Angelegenheit helfen soll (r.19-20). Findet sie jedoch schon vor Sulaymāns Ankunft ein Schiff, das die Passage übernimmt, so soll sie dieses anmieten (r.20-21). Mit sich auf dem Schiff soll sie hochwertige Leintücher (*bazz*) führen (r.22-23), wobei diese Stoffe aber nur für ihren Ehemann, den Briefschreiber, nicht aber für dessen Geschäftspartner (*ʿaṣḥāb*) in al-Fuṣṭāṭ bestimmt sind. Vor der Abreise aber soll die Frau noch einige wirtschaftliche Dinge in Ihnās regeln. Diese sind aufgrund des nun schlechter werdenden Erhaltungszustands des Papyrus nur schwer zu erfassen. Deutlich wird aber, dass die Ehefrau sich nach einer männlichen Person mit dem Namen Muḥammad b. Naḡid erkundigen soll (r.25) sowie Häuser (*buyūt*) für die Lagerung von Weizen und Rettich in Ihnās anmieten soll (r.26). Auch soll sie einige Geschäftspartner in Ihnās von des Briefschreibers guter Gesundheit in Kenntnis setzen (v.3-4). Dann folgen einige dunkle Informationen hinsichtlich des Handels mit Gewändern und möglicherweise auch Weizen (v.8-10). Auch auf das gängige Kreditwesen und den damaligen bargeldlosen Zahlungsverkehr wird kurz eingegangen (v.10). Außerdem kommt die Rede auf einen christlichen Diakon (*šammās*), den der Briefschreiber in al-Fuṣṭāṭ treffen möchte. Der Brief endet mit der Ausrichtung von Grüßen weiblicher Familienmitglieder in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, möglicherweise Schwestern der Adressatin (v.15-19).

Der Brief ist undatiert, dürfte aber aus paläographischen Gründen nicht später als in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein, auch wenn es sich bei dem altertümlichen Schriftduktus um einen bewussten Archaismus handeln könnte. Interessant ist vor allem der Umstand, dass es sich bei dem Text um den Geschäftsbrief eines Kaufmannes an seine Ehefrau handelt. Ähnliche innerfamiliäre Schreiben sind auch aus dem 9. Jahrhundert erhalten (*P.Marchands*), aber eine derart direkte Handelsbeziehung zwischen einem Mann und seiner Ehefrau sind aus den anderen arabischen Dokumenten dieser Zeit bislang nicht bekannt geworden. Beschrieben werden die Verhältnisse in Ihnās, dem alten Provinzzentrum Herakleopolis Magna. Zwar ist dieses in den Papyri aus spätantiker wie islamischer Zeit vergleichsweise gut bezeugt. Innerhalb der Gruppe der arabischen Texte jedoch kann der vorliegende Brief zu den ältesten gezählt werden, weshalb er wichtige Aufschlüsse auch zur gesellschaftlichen Situation, insbesondere zu Prozessen der Arabisierung und Islamisierung, dieses bedeutenden Handelszentrums im muslimischen Ägypten gibt. In sprachlicher Hinsicht bemerkenswert sind die auffällig langen und in ihrer Wortwahl unkonventionellen Eulogien zu Beginn des Schreibens (r.4-

9), zu denen mir aus der papyrologischen Literatur keine Parallelen bekannt sind.

P.Vindob. A.P. 15021 (PERF 576)

Herakleopolis Magna (Ihnās)

36 × 22,5 cm

Frühes 8. Jh. n. Chr.

Papyrus von grober Qualität. Der obere Rand des Blattes mit schräg verlaufender Schnittstelle ist unversehrt, die seitlichen und unteren Ränder sind ebenfalls kaum beschädigt. Mehrfach sind im Blatt selbst entlang der vertikalen Mittelfalte und der horizontalen Querfalten einzelne Fasern und größere Stücke herausgebrochen, auf Verso auch mehrere Zeilen (v.1-7) stark abgerieben oder verblasst. Davon abgesehen ist das Stück gut erhalten und vollständig. Geübte Schrift. Tinte schwarz und von unregelmäßiger Stärke, zahlreiche Fälle von Tintenfraß weisen auf ihren Eisengehalt hin. Der Text nimmt fast das gesamte Blatt ein. Auf Recto sind Spuren einer vormaligen Beschreibung erkennbar (r.13 auf Höhe von لولا; r.18 zum Zeilenende auf Höhe von مركب; weiterhin r.21 und r.23). Gelegentlich wird die Rekonstruktion zerstörter Wortteile durch erkennbaren Tintenfraß erleichtert. Zahlreiche Punktierungen im Text. Schreibung von *qāf* mit einem Punkt über der Schlaufe (r.19, r.22, v.13, v.19) und *fa'* mit einem Punkt darunter (r.22) (vgl. dazu CPR 3.1, S. 71). Unsichere Lesungen sind in der Edition durch einen Balken über dem arabischen Buchstaben gekennzeichnet. Faserrichtung auf Recto senkrecht zur Schrift, auf Verso parallel zur Schrift. Blattwendung beim Übergang von Recto zu Verso um die senkrechte Achse.

Recto

- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 من ميمون بن عبد الله الى سألمة وعمر بن ميمون سلم
 عليك فاني احمد اليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو اما بعد 3
 فاني [ني] اود ما [..] لته [بمشيئة] الله و[...] و[م] الاوّل والاخر
 يوم [.....]
 ما عمل [ب]ها العامل وبها ينجو الناج و[ب]ها يهلك الهالك
 من خالف عنها و عمل عندها وهي راس الحكمة وجملة 6
 كل خير [س]ل الله ان يتم [الخ]ـ تر لنا ولك لطاعته ويرافقنا
 و[ي]ـ لزمنا الاعمال [..]ـ ن [و]ـ يلهمنا واياك بذكره وذكر
 ممّاـ ن بقوته اخبر كما من خبري اني كما تحبان ان 9
 اكون من السلامة والصلاح وربنا محمود [و]ـ ذلك من فضل ا
 لله ونعمته اسل الله ان يتم علينا وعليكم نعمته وانه ما منع

- 12 مع قدر الله {الـ}دي>[ا]ن الذى [...] حمر ادين ولعمرى اطلعه فى وجهك وعمر احب ان [...] ل[ا]لفسطاط لولا شغلى وما استطيع ان اتى اهناس وادع الذى لى وليس لى الجـ[لـ]د يكفينى بقضا ذلك ولقد علمت انت انى حين كنت اتى الفسطاط [او]ل ذى الـ[لـ]قعدة من [ا]هـ[لـ]اس وانا اليوم اوخش شاتى بالفسطاط واغرض شاتى الى اهناس لولا حبسى بالفسطاط فانظرى ان وجدت مركب ان تقبلنى على <ب>بركة الله وقد ارسلت اليك سليمان يعينك وان وجدت سفينة لك وحدك
- 21 بد ينر فاستجرى ولا عليك ان تحملى معك بز لاصحـ[بـ]نا ولا نريد سفينة فيها قمح الا سفينة تحمل بز وبه ليس [قمـ]ح ولا ناس ولا صنعة ربنا هو ميـ[رو]ك و[سـ]فـ[د]ينة [...] له وهى اهون سلم عليك منى انطلقت الى اهناس
- 24 واستعلمى بمحمد بن نجد يكون مولده فى البيوت [ت] <ام لا> واجرى البيوت التى فيها القمـ[ح] و[الفعل]
- 3 بعد — 4 الاخر — 5 يحو. الناج — 6 عنها. عندها. جملة — 7 خير. يسم — 9 تحبان — 12 الادن دين — 13 احب. شغلى — 14 سطيع. اتى. اهناس — 15 بقضا — 16 اتى. من — 17 اوخش. شاتى. اغرض. اهناس — 18 حبسى — 19 تفبلى. فد — 20 يعسك — 21 فاستجرى. تحملى. بز. لاصحنا — 22 نريد. فيها. قمح. تحمل. بز — 23 صنعه — 24 انظلف. اهناس — 25 استعلمى. نجد. البيوت — 26 البيوت.

Verso

- وامركم البيت الكا[يـ]ن هو الى محمد وما ان ارسـ[لت] [الـ]يك بالجارية الا انى انتظرك كم يوم اسـ[لـ]ك ان تخبرى صحابتكم وان توذنى
- 3 [نـ]لى على سلامة. [...] و[...] لاسـ[لـ] محمد [...] للجد [ا]رية و[...] لاسـ[لـ]م وانى قد ارسـ[لـ]تهـ[ا] [ا]ليه [...] و[...] لم [ارسـ[لـ]ة
- 6 اليك و[ار] سلت قمح و[ر]باطا اليه [...] رلاط فلم اجد <بها> ولن [ا]جد بو[.]م فانهم قد [ارسـ[لـ]و]هم اليك يحتسبه دينه ثلـ[ثـ]ة منها
- 9

ثمنين رباطا ودينى د[ي]ـنر لعمر فخذيهما من نافع
 ولا تلوم[يند]ـلى بارك الله عليك فى شأنى
 12 فانى اشغل الناس بصيانتك لو استطعت
 اليكما سبيل وانى لم القا[ا]ـل شماس لو قد لقيتيه
 ل[....]ـت منه [...]ـ كما امرتنى وان خرج انما
 15 فاذا لم اس.... وبما فى نفسك ام
 يزيد وجواريهما يقرؤا عليك السلم وان
 ام عبيد الله وسهلة وكبيرة ويقرؤا <ا> عليكما
 18 السلم والسلم عليك ورحمت الله
 [و]ـان بثينة وبدرية يقرؤا عليكمـ[ا]ـ السلم

7 رباطا — 8 بو — 10 فحديهما — 11 بارك — 12 فانى — 13 اشماس . لفيتيه
 — 14 منه . امرتنى — 19 بثينه .

Adresse

20 من ميـ[مو]ـن بن عـ[بد]ـ الله الى
 عمر بن ميـ[م]ـون

“(Recto 1) Im Namen Gottes, des Barmherzigen und Gnädigen! (2) Von Maymūn, dem Sohn des ‘Abdallāh, an Sālīma und ‘Umar, den Sohn des Maymūn. Friede sei (3) mit Dir, denn ich lobe für Dich Gott, außer dem es keinen Gott gibt. Aber danach: (4) [Ich] wünsche (?) das was - - - [mit dem Willen] Gottes - - - und was am ersten und am letzten Tag - - - (5) so wie durch (den göttlichen Willen) wirkt der Wirkende und entkommt der Entkommende, wie auch (durch ihn) untergeht der Untergehende, (6) der sich (dem göttlichen Willen) widersetzt oder ihm entgegen (?) wirkt. Denn der (göttliche Wille) ist doch die Spitze der Weisheit und die Summe (7) alles Guten. Ich [bitte] Gott, dass Er an uns und an Dir [Gute]s vollende durch den Gehorsam Ihm gegenüber, und dass Er uns geleite (8) und uns befolgen lässt die (guten) Werke, und dass Er uns und Dich inspiriere durch das Gedenken Seiner sowie das Gedenken (9) dessen, was - - - mit seiner Macht.

Was aber mich betrifft, so kann ich Euch berichten, dass ich, wie Ihr es nur wünschen könnt, (10) heil und wohlbehalten bin, unser Herr sei gelobt! Dies alles rührt (einzig) von der Gunst (11) Gottes und seiner Gnade. So bitte ich denn Gott, dass Er seine Gnadenerweise an uns und an Euch vollende. Denn dies ist, was vorenthalten wird (12) mit dem Beschluss Gottes des Richters, welcher - - - die Religion. Bei meinem Leben, ich spreche es (13) Dir und ‘Umar gegenüber direkt aus: Ich möchte al-Fuṣṭāṭ (sogleich) wieder [verlas-

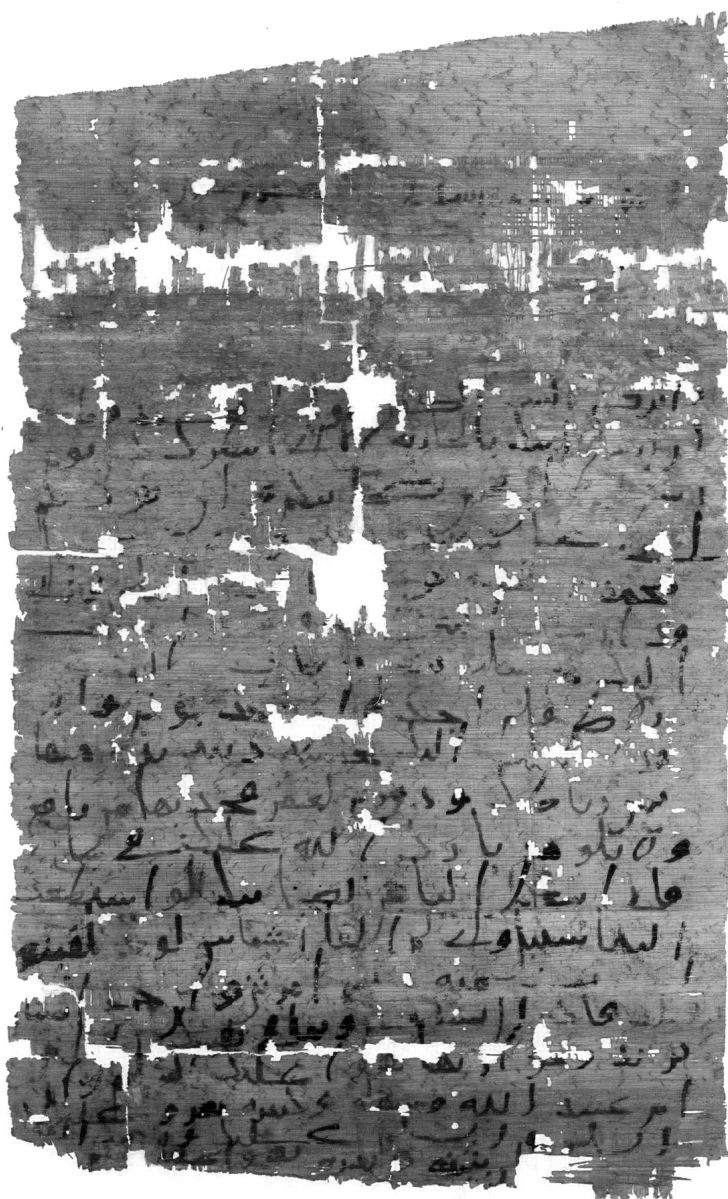
sen?], aber ich habe hier mein Gewerbe, das es mir (14) unmöglich macht, nach Ihnäs zurückzukehren und hier alles liegen zu lassen! Außerdem habe ich nicht Geduld (?) (15) genug, solches zu vollbringen. Du sollst wissen, dass ich schon bei (16) meiner Ankunft in al-Fuṣṭāṭ [am erst]en Dū l-Qa‘da von Ihnäs kommend – und (17) heute geht es mir noch viel schlechter in al-Fuṣṭāṭ! – am liebsten(?) (auf der Stelle) nach Ihnäs zurückgekehrt wäre, (18) hätten mich nicht meine Erledigungen in al-Fuṣṭāṭ davon abgehalten.

Du aber sieh zu, ein Schiff zu finden, (19) dass Du herkommen kannst mit Gottes Segen! Ich habe Dir bereits (20) den Sulaymān geschickt, damit er Dir (dabei) hilft. Findest Du (jedoch) ein Schiff, das Dich allein mitnimmt (21) und dafür (nur) einen Dīnār verlangt, so miete (es) an! Du brauchst aber nicht Tuchballen für unsere Geschäftspartner mitbringen! (22) Auch wollen wir kein Schiff mit Weizen, sondern ein Schiff, das Tuchballen geladen hat, (23) (also) nicht [Weiz]en oder Passagiere oder (irgendwelche) Waren. Unser Herr sei gesegnet! Ein [Schif]f (?) - - - (24) mit Komfort – ich wünsche Dir Frieden! – hat sich bereits auf den Weg nach Ihnäs gemacht.

(25) Erkundige Dich nach Muḥammad, dem Sohn des Naǧīd, ob sich sein *mawlid* (?) schon in den Häusern ereignet hat <oder nicht>! (26) Miete außerdem solche Häuser an, in denen Weizen und Rettich lagern! (Verso 1) Eure Angelegenheit (?) sei ferner das Haus neben (?) (dem Haus von?) Muḥammad. (2) Das Dienstmädchen schickte ich Dir nur deshalb nicht, weil ich Dich schon seit Tagen erwarte. (3) Ich [bitte Dich], dass Du Eure Geschäftspartner in Kenntnis setzt und benachrichtigst, (4) dass i[ch] wohlbehalten bin. - - - und - - - (5) Muḥammad - - - dem Dienstmädchen und - - - [Frie]den. Ich aber (6) habe sie ihm bereits ge[sch]ickt - - - und - - - nicht sch[ick]te ich [es] (7) Dir. Und ich [sch]ickte ihm Weizen (?) und [Lei]nengewänder (?) (8) - - - Ich fand aber nicht die - - - und werde auch nicht die - - - finden. Sie aber (9) haben letztere (?) bereits zu Dir [geschickt?], was eine Schuld von drei (Dīnār) macht, davon (10) achtzig Leinengewänder. Ich schulde dem ‘Umar einen Dīnār. So nimm sie von Nāfi‘, (11) und tadle mich nicht, Gott segne Dich, in meiner Angelegenheit! (12) Denn ich beschäftige die Leute zu Deinem Wohl. Könnte ich nur (13) Euch beiden zu einer Möglichkeit (?) verhelfen! Ich habe den Diakon noch nicht getroffen. Hätte ich ihn aber getroffen, (14) so hätte ich (?) - - - von ihm - - -, wie (?) Du mir aufgetragen hast. Und wenn er verließ nur (15) - - - Und wenn ich - - - und was für Dich selbst - - - .

Umm (16) Yazīd und ihre Dienstmädchen grüßen Dich. Auch (17) Umm ‘Ubaydallāh und Sahla und Kabīra grüßen Euch (18) beide. Friede sei mit Dir und die Gnade Gottes! (19) [Auch] Buṭayna und Badriyya grüßen Euch beide.

(20, Adresse) Von Maymūn, dem Sohn des ‘Abdallāh, an ‘Umar, den Sohn des Maymūn.”



Ausbrüche im Papyrusblatt lassen erkennen, dass die ursprüngliche Faltung des Briefes zunächst mehrmals von unten nach oben parallel zur Schmalseite und schließlich einmal abschließend parallel zur Längsseite verlief. Auf das so entstandene Päckchen hatte man abschließend die Adresszeile aufgetragen, wobei zwischen Absender- und Empfängername ein Freiraum für die Verschnürung mit einem schmalen Papyrusstreifen und eine mögliche Siegelung gelassen wurde. Die untere Hälfte des Blattes ist allgemein unversehrter und weniger ausgebleicht als die obere, da sie zum geschützteren inneren Teil des gefalteten Päckchens gehört hatte.² Der undatierte Brief erstreckt sich über beide Seiten des Blattes. Bemerkenswert ist sein hohes Alter. Schon Karabacek, der das Stück mit einer Zusammenfassung seines Inhalts in den *Führer durch die Ausstellung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* aufgenommen hatte, vermutete eine Entstehung sogar in der Regierungszeit des Kalifen Mu'awiya (reg. 661-683 n. Chr.).³ Diese wohl aufgrund allgemeiner paläographischer Erwägungen und ohne weitere Begründung vorgenommene Einschätzung ist sicherlich zu weitgreifend. Es gibt aber gute Anhaltspunkte, die eine Datierung zumindest in das frühe 8. Jahrhundert wahrscheinlich machen.⁴ Das sind zum einen gewisse Eigenheiten des Briefformulars, etwa die einleitende Briefformel *fa-'innī 'ahmadu 'ilayki llāha lladī lā 'ilāha 'illā huwa* (r.3) oder aber auch die unmittelbar der eröffnenden *basmala* (r.1) nachfolgende Adresse (r.2), die einem ab dem späteren 8. Jahrhundert zunehmend nicht mehr gebräuchlichen Schema folgen.⁵ Zum anderen weist der Schriftcharakter des Stücks eine für den vorgeschlagenen Zeitraum charakteristische Gestalt auf.⁶ Fundort dürfte aus naheliegenden inhaltlichen Gründen Ihnās (Ahnās) gewesen sein, wenn auch darüber keine gesicherten Erkenntnisse vorliegen.

Der Brief führt in das Milieu muslimischer Leintuchhändler aus Ihnās, dem Hauptort des alten herakleopolitischen Gaus.⁷ Dieses regionale Zentrum war nicht nur in spätantiker, sondern auch noch in islamischer Zeit eine Dreh-

² Zur Faltung arabischer Briefe vgl. die ausführlichen Angaben bei Grohmann, *Einführung* 126-130.

³ PERF 576.

⁴ Muğawirī Muḥammad (vgl. oben Anm. 1) stützt sich bei seiner erheblich späteren zeitlichen Einordnung des Stücks in das 9.-10. Jh. zwar ebenfalls auf das Schriftbild, begründet seine Annahme aber nicht näher. Muğawirī, *Alqāb* 294, Anm. 1.

⁵ *P.Khalili* 1, S. 25; *P.Khalili* 2, S. 63.

⁶ Paläographisch ähnliche Stücke dieser Datierung sind etwa *CPR* 16.9 und 27; *P.Berl. Arab.* 2.23 und 24; *P.Heid. Arab.* 2.1; *P.Khalili* 1.9, 14 und 15; sowie allgemein die Qurra-Korrespondenz in *P.Heid. Arab.* 1 und *P.Qurra*. Eine Übersicht über die Eigenheiten dieser Schrift, ihre besonderen Buchstabenformen etc. liefert *P.Khalili* 1, S. 27-39.

⁷ Zur administrativen Einteilung Ägyptens in islamischer Zeit sowie die Einbindung von Herakleopolis Magna darin siehe Grohmann, *Geographie* 41-42.

scheibe für den ägyptischen Binnenhandel mit landwirtschaftlichen Produkten gewesen, wofür sicherlich seine günstige geographische Lage mitverantwortlich zeichnete. Am südöstlichen Eingang zum Fayyūm gelegen, bestanden Verkehrsverbindungen nach Süden (durch den Josefskanal) wie Norden (über den Landweg oder durch Nebenkanäle zum nahe gelegenen Nil) gleichermaßen. Der vorliegende Fall dokumentiert die Verschiffung von Leinen (*bazz*)⁸ und Weizen aus den bedeutenden landwirtschaftlichen Anbaugebieten des Fayyūm in die Hauptstadt al-Fuṣṭāṭ.⁹ Von hier aus konnten diese Produkte über Ägypten hinaus auch in andere Reichsteile wie Syrien oder Nordafrika exportiert werden, auch wenn dieser Handelsweg zumeist den im nördlichen Delta produzierten Gütern vorbehalten blieb.¹⁰

Der Text des Briefes zeichnet sich durch den Gebrauch ausführlicher islamischer Eulogien aus. Diese entsprechen teils den üblichen Formulierungen (r.2-3, r.10-12, v.18-19), teils weisen sie eine von anderen arabischen Papyri abweichende Wortwahl auf (r.4-9). Möglicherweise handelte es sich auch bei den im vorliegenden Text verwendeten Eulogien um literarische Konvention, wie derartige fromme Versatzstücke ein allgemeines Stilmittel in der privaten und geschäftlichen Korrespondenz jener Zeit waren. Um eine lediglich ästhetische, gewissermaßen zweckfreie Zierde dürfte es sich jedoch auch im vorlie-

⁸ Vgl. arabisch *bazz* mit griechisch βύσσος (den Hinweis verdanke ich Prof. C. Römer). Gewöhnlich ist *bazz* (pl. *buzūz*) der Oberbegriff für Stoff aus Leinen, Baumwolle oder Seide (Lane, *Lexicon* 1:198; Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire* 1:120). Das Lexem *bazzāz* konnte sowohl den "Stoffhändler" (u.a. *CPR* 16.32.v.2-3; *CPR* 26.4.10; 40.2; *P.Cair.Arab.* 6.391.3; *P.Marchands* 2.2.v.9) wie auch, im spezifischen Kontext, den "Linnenhändler" bezeichnen (*P.Cair.Arab.* 2.142.2; Grohmann, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* Nr. 4.2; Grohmann, *Urkunden* Nr. 19 verso Adresse). Eine genauere sprachliche Differenzierung hinsichtlich des Materials konnte durch die substantivische Apposition *bazz kattān* "Leinenstoff" erfolgen (*CPR* 16.19.20; etwa in *P.Heid.Arab.* 2.29.8 und 29.10-11; 39.9-10; *P.Cair.Arab.* 5.301.8). Dennoch wird es sich auch im vorliegenden Fall, wo nur von *bazz* die Rede ist, um Leinenstoff gehandelt haben. Zwar gibt es für diese Annahme keine genaueren textinhärenten Indizien, jedoch legt der besondere Kontext des Fayyūm mit seiner Leinenproduktion dies nahe.

⁹ Zur Flachsproduktion im Fayyūm in frühislamischer Zeit siehe Lombard, *Textiles* 48-50. Die besondere Bedeutung des Fayyūm für die ägyptische Flachsproduktion noch bis ins 11. Jahrhundert hinein unterstreicht Udovitch, *Trade* 269-270. Zu Tuchhandel und Tuchhändlern im Fayyūm in islamischer Zeit allgemein siehe Ragheb, *Marchands*; *P.Marchands*; Sijpesteijn, *Travel*. Eine besonders wichtige Quelle zur Handelsgeschichte, auf die hier aber nicht näher eingegangen werden kann, sind die jüdisch-arabischen Geniza-Dokumente. Zu ihnen siehe umfassend Goitein, *Society*. Die Textilindustrie Ägyptens in vorislamischer Zeit behandelt Wipszycka, *Industrie*; den Handel mit Textilien in islamischer Zeit Frantz-Murphy, *New Interpretation*.

¹⁰ Lombard, *Textiles* 49.

genden Fall nicht gehandelt haben. Vielmehr scheint es eine tiefe Frömmigkeit zu sein, die auch eine sehr private Korrespondenz zwischen zwei Eheleuten durchziehen konnte, wie auch das eher Geschäftliche immer von religiösen Formeln umrahmt wurde.

Es kann nicht gesagt werden, ob Maymūn den Brief selbst geschrieben oder auch nur in dieser Gestalt formuliert hat, oder aber ob der Brief das Werk eines in der Hauptstadt ansässigen professionellen Berufsschreibers mit mehr oder weniger freiem Gestaltungsspielraum war. Recht sicher hingegen kann angenommen werden, dass die Adressatin Sālīma als damalige Frau des Lesens und Schreibens unkundig gewesen sein wird, weshalb man ihr den Brief bei Erhalt wohl von dritter Seite vorgelesen hat. Mit einer solchen erhöhten "Öffentlichkeit" aber mag sich der ausgiebige Gebrauch religiöser Formeln erklären lassen. Darüber hinaus aber könnte der sehr islamische Charakter des Schreibens auch eine gesellschaftliche Funktion erfüllt haben. Denn Maymūn lebte als Kaufmann mit muslimischem Hintergrund in einem regionalen Zentrum und inmitten eines christlich-ägyptischen Umfelds, weit abseits der Hauptstadt al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Seine kulturelle, vielleicht auch ethnische Zugehörigkeit zur muslimisch-arabischen Oberschicht und damit seine soziale Vorrangstellung aber könnte er durch eine betont fromm-islamische Wortwahl in der privaten und geschäftlichen Korrespondenz zum Ausdruck gebracht haben. Das stiftete Identität im persönlichen Bereich, brachte aber auch Prestige und materielle Vorteile auf gesellschaftlicher Ebene ein.

Offiziell war der Brief an Maymūns Sohn 'Umar gerichtet. Dennoch war Maymūns Ehefrau Sālīma die tatsächliche Empfängerin und Angesprochene des Briefes (r.1), was ihre bemerkenswerte soziale Stellung in Ihnās erkennen lässt. Ihre durch Maymūn übertragenen Aufgaben sind von Verantwortung und erheblicher Weisungsbefugnis, auch außerhalb des häuslichen Bereichs, geprägt und machen deutlich, wie selbständig auch eine muslimische Frau im öffentlichen Leben eines ägyptischen Provinzzentrums auftreten konnte.¹¹

Die eigentliche Besonderheit des Briefes aber liegt in dem Umstand, dass er Einzelheiten zum Leintuchhandel in Ägypten mitteilt, die zeitlich bis zu einem Jahrhundert früher anzusiedeln sind als die umfangreiche, von Y. Rāḡib publizierte Korrespondenz der Stoffhändler aus dem Fayyūm (*P.Marchands*). Briefschreiber ist der Kaufmann Maymūn ibn 'Abdallāh aus Ihnās, der sich zum Zeitpunkt der Niederschrift geschäftlich in der Hauptstadt al-Fuṣṭāṭ aufhält. Er hat eine Ladung Stoffballen in die Hauptstadt transportiert, um sie auf dem dortigen Textilmarkt zu verkaufen. In seinem Brief, den er an seine

¹¹ Zu weiteren Belegen wirtschaftlicher Aktivitäten von Frauen im 7.-10. Jh. in den Papyri siehe *P.Marchands*; Sijpesteijn, *Travel* 131; und Sijpesteijn, *Silk* 267; in den Papiereen siehe die Geniza und Goitein, *Society*.

Ehefrau Sālīma richtet, verbindet er, wie so häufig in diesem Genre, persönliche mit geschäftlichen Angelegenheiten.¹² Insgesamt gesehen überwiegt der private gegenüber dem geschäftlichen Charakter, auch wenn letzterer das eigentliche Anliegen des Schreibens bildet.

Zunächst teilt Maymūn, nach einleitenden höflichen Formeln (r.3-9), sein persönliches Wohlbefinden mit (r.9-10), klagt aber über Heimweh und die Unmöglichkeit einer baldigen Heimkehr nach Ihnās (r.12-15). Er muss sich zum Zeitpunkt der Niederschrift schon seit längerer Zeit in der Hauptstadt aufgehalten haben, denn er rechnet offensichtlich in größeren Zeiträumen, wenn er seiner Frau das numerische Datum der Ankunft in al-Fuṣṭāṭ (1. Dū l-Qa'da), nicht aber den viel naheliegenderen Wochentag mitteilt (r.16). Möglicherweise hatte es zuvor schon ähnliche Schreiben zwischen den beiden Eheleuten gegeben, denn wie es scheint, hatte Maymūn seine Frau schon zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt gebeten, zu ihm in die Hauptstadt nachzukommen (v.2). Auch könnte die Beteuerung, am liebsten gleich wieder nach Ihnās zurückzukehren, eine rhetorische Konvention gewesen sein, mit der der Briefschreiber ein mögliches früheres Schreiben seiner Ehefrau und seines Sohnes höflich beantworten wollte, in welchem diese seine lange Abwesenheit beklagten.

Die längere Abwesenheit von zu Hause lässt Maymūn auch zum eigentlichen Kern des Schreibens kommen. Er trägt seiner Ehefrau auf, in seiner Abwesenheit zunächst die Geschäfte in Ihnās zu regeln (r.25-v.10), dann aber baldmöglichst mit einer Schiffsladung von Stoffen nach al-Fuṣṭāṭ nachzukommen (r.18-23).¹³ Die genauen Beweggründe bleiben unklar. Vielleicht waren es persönliche Motive wie das angesprochene Heimweh. Denkbar ist aber auch, dass sich für Maymūn ein unvorhergesehener Geschäftsabschluss in al-Fuṣṭāṭ ergeben hatte, für den er weitere Tuchballen aus Ihnās orderte. Unklar blieben in diesem Fall aber die genauen Gründe, weshalb er den neuerlichen Transport von Ihnās in die Hauptstadt nicht selbst unternahm. Es ist jedoch denkbar, dass er seine übrige Ware nicht schutzlos in al-Fuṣṭāṭ zurücklassen konnte, oder dass es der laufende Geschäftsbetrieb war, der ihn an einer neuerlichen Reise hinderte. Aus den Worten des Briefes lässt sich jedenfalls ein gewisses Drängen nach schnellem Handeln herauslesen (r.18-21), ein Hinweis darauf, dass, hätte Maymūn die Rückreise nach Ihnās und die neuerliche Verschif-

¹² Vgl. hierzu auch *P.Hamb.Arab.* 2, S. 6-7.

¹³ Ein ganz ähnlicher Brief ist P.Vindob. A.P. 16325 (*PERF* 882) aus dem 9. Jh., das Angebot eines Kaufmanns aus al-Fuṣṭāṭ an einen Geschäftspartner im heimischen Uṣmūn (Hermopolis Magna), gewisse Waren aus der Hauptstadt mitzubringen. Im Gegenzug bittet er um Begleichung der Miete des gemeinsamen Ladengeschäftes in Uṣmūn. In diesem Fall hatte die Reise in die Hauptstadt immerhin sieben Tage in Anspruch genommen.

fung in die Hauptstadt selbst unternommen, zu viel Zeit verstrichen und die Gelegenheit zum Handel verpasst gewesen wäre. Unklar bleibt auch, warum nicht ein Angestellter des Maymūn die Nachlieferung erledigen konnte, aber vielleicht war die angeforderte Ladung zu kostbar für eine Delegation ihres Transports, und die anderen örtlichen Kaufleute (*ʾaṣḥāb*, r.21, v.3) scheinen nicht in das Geschäft einbezogen worden zu sein (r.21). So blieb es an Sālīma, die Passage zu organisieren und auch zu begleiten (r.22), wobei ihr ein gewisser Sulaymān zur Hilfe geschickt wurde (r.19-20). Bei diesem wird es sich um einen Angestellten des Maymūn, vielleicht aber auch um einen seiner Söhne gehandelt haben.

Des weiteren aber hatte Sālīma sich auch um die wirtschaftlichen Angelegenheiten in Ihnās zu kümmern. Aufgrund der nun schadhafteren Passagen des Textes müssen die Einzelheiten weitgehend dunkel bleiben. Es wird jedoch zumindest deutlich, dass es um die Anmietung von Häusern zur Lagerung von Weizen und Rettich (r.26, v.1) sowie um die Begleichung größerer Schuldbeträge in Höhe von mehreren Golddinen für fertig genähte Leinengewänder (v.9-11) ging. Auch scheint Sālīma über gute Kontakte in die Hauptstadt verfügt zu haben, denn es gibt dort nicht nur einen ihr bekannten christlichen Diakon (v.13-14), sondern sie erhält auch Grüße und gute Wünsche von mehreren dort ansässigen Personen (v.17, v.19). Vermutlich handelte es sich hier um Mitglieder ihrer eigenen Familie, so dass wir darauf schließen können, dass sie selbst aus al-Fuṣṭāṭ stammte und möglicherweise durch ihre Heirat mit Maymūn nach Ihnās gekommen war.

Maymūns Nachbestellung muss von erheblicher Größenordnung gewesen sein, denn Sālīma sollte nicht eine der im Nilverkehr häufig benutzten kleineren Barken (*qārib*), sondern ein offensichtlich größeres Schiff (*safīna*) anmieten (r.18-21).¹⁴ Der dafür veranschlagte Preis von 1 Golddinar (r.21) wird aber sicherlich mehr als Sālīmas unmittelbare Transportkosten abgedeckt haben, vermutlich geht es hier um die von ihrem Ehemann angeforderten Stoffe.¹⁵ Das Schiff sollte diesmal nur mit Tuchballen, nicht aber, wie offensichtlich sonst bei Maymūns Fahrten üblich, mit einer Mischladung aus zusätzlichem Weizen beladen werden (r.22). Aus dieser besonderen Anweisung geht hervor, dass Maymūn gewöhnlich nicht nur mit Stoffen, sondern auch mit Weizen handelte. Es liegt im Bereich des Möglichen, dass er auch auf seiner jetzigen

¹⁴ Zu einer Unterscheidung der Schiffstypen *safīna*, *markab* und *qārib* siehe P.Berl. *Arab.* 2.60.5.

¹⁵ Der Preis für die Schiffspassage von Ihnās nach al-Fuṣṭāṭ könnte allerdings Bestätigung finden durch einen Beleg in Sijpesteijn, *Travel* 124-125, demzufolge die ganz ähnliche Summe von einem Golddinar weniger einem halben Karat (1/48 Dinar) im frühen 8. Jh. für eine Passage von Rosetta nach Alexandria aufgewendet werden musste.

Fahrt in die Hauptstadt eine solche Mischladung bei sich hatte, nicht wissend, dass sich diesmal für eines der beiden Produkte eine besonders günstige Handels Gelegenheit ergeben würde.¹⁶

Der Brief gibt einen Einblick in den Alltag mittelägyptischer Stoffhändler zum Ende des ersten muslimischen Jahrhunderts. Demnach ließ sich die Marktlage in der Hauptstadt nicht immer verlässlich prognostizieren, und kurzfristige Schwankungen in der Nachfrage konnten für Überraschungen sorgen. Auch fehlte es zumindest in jener Zeit noch an tragfähigen Handelsnetzwerken, denn Maymūn musste den Transport seiner Ware von Ihnās nach al-Fustāt persönlich begleiten, ihren anschließenden Verkauf in der Hauptstadt beaufsichtigen sowie für Nachbestellungen die Hilfe seiner Ehefrau in Anspruch nehmen.¹⁷ Das ist ein bemerkenswerter Unterschied zur Situation nur ein Jahrhundert später, als Fayyūmer Stoffhändler bereits auf die Dienste von Mittelsmännern zurückgreifen konnten, die sich dauerhaft in der Hauptstadt aufhielten und die dortigen Marktgewohnheiten besser einzuschätzen vermochten.¹⁸ Wichtig sind auch die Anspielungen auf die Flussschifffahrt, stellte doch der Nil mit seinen Nebenkanälen zu allen Zeiten die wichtigste innerägyptische Verkehrsader dar.¹⁹ Gerade für den Transport landwirtschaftlicher Waren größeren Umfangs und Gewichts war er die preisgünstigste und

¹⁶ Hiervon allerdings abweichend ist Sijpesteijn, *Travel* 127-128, die im Zusammenhang mit den Handelsunternehmungen eines anderen Fayyūmer Kaufmanns gerade für eine Eingrenzung auf nur eine von drei möglichen Handelswaren argumentiert.

¹⁷ Eine ganz ähnliche Situation findet sich in P.Mich. Inv. 5614. Auch hier ordert ein reisender Kaufmann von einer zu Hause verbliebenen Vertrauensperson eine Nachlieferung von Ware. Siehe Sijpesteijn, *Travel* 124.

¹⁸ Ragheb, *Marchands* 28-30. – Gegen die Annahme einer allgemeinen zeitlichen Entwicklung von reisenden Kaufleuten hin zu fest ansässigen Händlernetzwerken, wie sie von mir bevorzugt wird, lassen sich auch schwerwiegende Einwände vorbringen, etwa dass die Bildung fest ansässiger Händlernetzwerke eher mit der zunehmenden Größe von Handelsunternehmen als mit einer rein zeitlichen Entwicklung im Zusammenhang gestanden haben dürfte. Darauf könnten nicht zuletzt auch die Papyri von P. *Marchands* hindeuten, die allesamt größere Handelsunternehmungen betreffen, während es, ebenfalls aus dem 9. Jahrhundert, eine große Zahl von Briefen gibt, in denen kleinere Handelsunternehmungen immer noch von reisenden Kaufleuten durchgeführt werden. Hingegen sprechen für die Annahme einer zeitlichen Entwicklung hin zu fest ansässigen Händlernetzwerken wiederum ganz ähnliche Beobachtungen zum Überseeehandel im östlichen Mittelmeer. Siehe zu letzterem De Roover, *Marine Insurance* 174-177. Ich danke P. Sijpesteijn, die mich auf diese Diskussion hingewiesen hat und die mir die Angaben zur genannten Literatur übermittelte.

¹⁹ Weitere Belege für die Nilschifffahrt finden sich in CPR 16.16 (9. Jh.), P. *Cair. Arab.* 5.311 (9.-10. Jh.) sowie allgemein in Sijpesteijn, *Travel*, passim.

sicherere Alternative zum Landweg.²⁰ Dennoch konnten auch hier genügend Hindernisse warten. Bekannt sind etwa die Schwierigkeiten, die durchreisenden Schiffen von seiten regionaler Finanzbeamter drohten.²¹ Auch die Unterschlagung von Handelswaren durch die eigenen Schiffsmannschaften ist schon in Papyri aus dem 3. Jahrhundert wie auch später im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert und noch in mamlukenzeitlichen Papieren aus dem 13. Jahrhundert belegt, weshalb auch in späteren Zeiten die Händler ihre Waren oft noch persönlich begleiteten.²²

Weniger transparent hingegen zeigen sich die Verhältnisse in Ihnäs. Die starken Zerstörungen des Briextextes auf Verso lassen es nicht zu, genaue Aussagen zur Natur der wirtschaftlichen Angelegenheiten herauszulesen, um die sich Sālīma während Maymūns Abwesenheit kümmern sollte (r.25-v.9). Es scheint sich jedoch tendenziell eher um die Verwaltung von Immobilien, weniger um die Bebauung landwirtschaftlicher Böden gehandelt zu haben, da immer wieder "Häuser" genannt werden. Der Hinweis auf Weizen und Rettich (r.26) scheint sich nicht so sehr auf den Anbau, sondern eher auf den Handel dieser Produkte zu beziehen.²³

Kommentar

r.2 Sālīma als Frauenname ist in *P.Cair.Arab.* 6.405.3 belegt; außerdem Gratzl, *Frauennamen* 31. – *salāmun 'alayki*: Zur Defektivschreibung des *'alif* bei سلم vgl. Hopkins, *Studies* § 10 a.

r.3 *fa-'innī 'ahmadu 'ilayki llāha*: Entgegen der auch ohne *'ilayki* oder *'ilayka* gebräuchlichen Briefformel (wenn an Nichtmuslime gerichtet; vgl. *P.Heid.Arab.* 1, S. 7) liegt hier die ausführliche Version vor. Diem übersetzt "denn ich lobe Dir Gott" (*CPR* 16.9) und "denn ich lobe Dir gegenüber Gott" (*P.Berl.Arab.* 2.23), Sijpesteijn "and I thank for you God" (Sijpesteijn, *Travel*). Die hier vorliegende Übertragung folgt der Übersetzung von Khan: "for your sake I praise God" (*P.Khalili* 2, S. 63).

r.4-9 *fa-'innī ... bi-quwwatihi*: Bemerkenswert lange Passage mit Eulogien, die von den sonst üblichen und auch im vorliegenden Brief verwendeten Formeln abweichen und die mir auch aus anderen Papyri nicht bekannt

²⁰ Sijpesteijn, *Travel* 127.

²¹ Ein berühmtes Beispiel ist *P.Heid.Arab.* 2.1.

²² Sijpesteijn, *Travel* 124.

²³ Der früheste erhaltene Geschäftsbrief aus dem 7. Jahrhundert zeigt ganz ähnliche Handelsaktivitäten muslimischer Kaufleute in einem ägyptischen Provinzzentrum, hier in Oxyrhynchos (al-Bahnasā). Siehe Rāgib, *Plus ancienne lettre*.

sind. Wie eine Prüfung des Korantextes (mit der Korankonkordanz von M.F. ‘Abdalbāqī, *al-Mu‘ğam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qur’an al-Karīm* [Beirut 1987]) ergab, liegt auch kein koranischer Hintergrund vor.

r.4 *bi-mašī ‘ati llāhi*: Sehr unsichere Lesung aufgrund der starken Zerstörung der Zeile mit nur wenigen Buchstabenresten. Es ist jedoch an dieser Stelle in jedem Fall ein feminines Nomen zu vermuten, da die gesamte sich über die folgenden Zeilen erstreckende Eulogie durchgängig ein weibliches Bezugswort aufweist (*‘amila bihā l-‘amilu*; *yanğū bihā n-nāğī*; *yahliku bihā l-hāliku*; *man ḥālafa ‘anhā wa-‘amila minhā*; *wa-hiya ra’su l-ḥikmati*). Für die Vermutung, dass es sich bei diesem Bezugswort um den Begriff *mašī’atu llāhi* gehandelt haben könnte, spricht wiederum der inhaltliche Kontext, in dem ja von göttlicher Kraft die Rede ist. – *al-‘awwal* mit nicht ganz sicherer Lesung, da finales *lām* einen ungewöhnlich hoch angesetzten unteren Bogen aufweist. Vgl. im übrigen die ganz ähnlichen Beispiele im zeitgleichen *P.Qurra* 1.10 (فعجل) und 11 (رسول) sowie 2.18 (بسيل).

r.5 Die Ausdrücke *mā ‘amila bihā l-‘amilu*, *wa-bihā yanğū n-nāğī* und *wa-bihā yahliku l-hāliku* stehen parallel. – *an-nāğī* ist, wie aus der Buchstabenform des finalen ج eindeutig ersichtlich, hier ohne finales *yā* geschrieben (الناجي statt الناجي). Vgl. die Parallele in r.10 (finales ح von *aṣ-ṣalāḥ*). Hier liegt ein Beleg vor für die Umkehrung des in den Papyri verschiedentlich bezeugten Wegfalls der Nuration bei Nomina von Stämmen *tertia infirmae* (قاضي statt قاض), wie es J. Blau zwar für das frühe christlich-palästinensische Arabisch festgestellt hat, für die aber Hopkins 1984 noch keine Belege in den Papyrustexten kannte (siehe Hopkins, *Studies* § 82 g).

r.6 *man ḥālafa ‘anhā wa-‘amila ‘indahā*: Die Lesung *man ḥālafa ‘anhā* erfolgt mit erheblichen Bedenken, da *ḥlf* III nicht die Präposition *‘an* nach sich zieht, sondern grundsätzlich das direkte Objekt im Akkusativ, als Objektsuffix *-hu* oder *-hā* erfordert. Vgl. etwa die Belege in *P.Marchands* 2.30.7 und 34.14. Ein Fall, in dem von dieser Regel abgewichen wird, ist mir nicht bekannt, auch wenn der adversative Charakter von *‘an* zum Bedeutungsinhalt von *ḥlf* III passen würde. Eine Lesung als sehr viel selteneres *ḥlf* III (“eine Allianz eingehen”) hingegen scheint mir noch weniger plausibel, da sich dieses noch weniger mit dem nachfolgenden *‘an* vertragen würde. Von *‘indahā* ist der erste Buchstabe zerstört, der zweite jedoch eindeutig als punktiertes *nūn* erkennbar, und in der Lücke zwischen diesem und dem nachfolgenden *hā* ist der Rest eines *dāl* zu vermuten. Dennoch bleibt die Wendung *wa-‘amila ‘indahā* inhaltlich dunkel. Andere Möglichkeiten, etwa das eigentlich erforderliche *bihā* oder auch *minhā*, stellen sich nicht, und eine Wiederholung der Präposition *‘anhā* wie zuvor bei *man ḥālafa ‘anhā* kommt aus stilistischen Gründen nicht in Frage. –

Das unmittelbar vor *هي* befindliche *و* ist nur schwach erkennbar, allerdings durch ganz ähnliche Schreibungen in parallelen Stellen (r.10 und r.12) gesichert. – Unstrittige Lesung des *ر* in *raš* aufgrund paläographischer Parallelen in r.1, r.9, r.12. Außerdem findet sich eine ganz ähnliche Schreibung in *P.Qurra* 2.14 (dort ebenfalls *raš*). – Ich lese *جملة* mit erheblicher Zurückhaltung. Eine Lesung als *جماعة*, unter Annahme eines verlorenen *tā' marbūta* am Wortende, erscheint mir jedoch noch unwahrscheinlicher. Das nach dem Schriftbild (vgl. vor allem auch die Parallele *وادع* in r.14) sehr viel naheliegendere *جماع* wiederum passt sicherlich inhaltlich nicht.

r.7 Die Wendung *ʾasālu llāha ʾan* leitet einen neuen Satz ein und regiert die nachfolgenden vier Verben *yutimma* und *yurāfiqanā* (beide r.7) sowie *yulzimanā* und *yulhimanā* (beide r.8). – Auf *yutimma* folgt eine Lücke von etwa drei oder vier Buchstaben, an deren Ende ein *ر* oder *ن*, nicht aber ein *م* zu erkennen ist. Es könnte sich also um eine Formel *ʾasālu llāha ʾan yutimma al-ḥayra* (oder *al-ḥusna*) *lanā wa-laka* handeln, nicht aber um das eigentlich geläufige *ʾasālu llāha ʾan yutimma ni ʾamahu lanā wa-laka*, wie es auch wenig später in r.11 tatsächlich auftaucht. Gegen letztere Möglichkeit spricht auch der Umstand, dass *yutimma ni ʾamahu* stets mit *ʾalā*, nicht aber mit *li-* konstruiert wird (wie es in r.11 auch der Fall ist). – *li-ṭāʾatihi*: muss eigentlich *bi-ṭāʾatihi* heißen, aber es ist deutlich ein *lām* zu erkennen. – *lanā wa-laka*: Sichere Lesung von *lām-kāf* bei *laka* durch paläographisch ganz ähnliches *dālīka* in r.10. – Am stellenweise zerstörten Zeilenende unsichere Lesung von *wa-yurāfiqanā*, das Präfix sieht eher einem partizipialen *م* als einem *ي* der Imperfektbasis ähnlich. Aus dem Kontext geht jedoch hervor, dass es sich hier in jedem Fall um ein Verb im Konjunktiv handeln muss, da es sich auf das vorangehende *ʾasālu llāha ʾan* zum Zeilenbeginn von r.7 bezieht und im übrigen zu zwei folgenden Konjunktivformen in r.8 (*yulzimanā* und *yulhimanā*) parallel steht.

r.8 *wa-yulzimanā* mit nicht ganz sicherer Lesung, da primäres *yāʾ* und finales *ʾalif* verloren sind und das *nūn* im übrigen schwer als solches erkennbar ist. Dennoch macht der inhaltliche wie formale Kontext (parallele Verben in r.7 und r.8) die Lesung wahrscheinlich. – *al-ʾāʾmāl* mit stark zurückgeneigtem *ʾalif* zu Wortbeginn (so auch in den Parallelstellen r.3, r.17, r.25). Nachfolgendes *ل* ist in Ansätzen erkennbar. Am Wortende steht zweifelsfrei *ل*, dazwischen sind zwei in Teilen zerstörte Buchstaben als *عم* zu rekonstruieren. Das recht langgezogene *ع* findet darüber hinaus etwa eine Parallele in r.2 oder r.21.

r.9 *bi-quwwatihi* mit stark zerstörtem *bāʾ* und undeutlichem, aber wahrscheinlichem *qāf*.

r.12 Das auf die Wendung *ma'a qadri llāhi* folgende الادين scheint ein verschriebenes الديان *ad-dayyān* "der Richter" (Beiname Gottes) zu sein. Ähnliche Verdrehungen von Buchstaben innerhalb eines Wortes sind belegt in P.Mich. Inv. 5609 (8. Jh.) und P.Princeton AM 13395 (21) (8. Jh.), wie auch die Verwendung des Lexems *dyn* zum nachfolgenden *dīn* "Religion" in derselben Zeile passt (ich danke P. Sijpesteijn für diesen Vorschlag und die Mitteilung der Belege). – Bei الدين scheint es sich um eine Schreibung von الدين *ad-dīn* mit lautlich inspirierter Assimilierung des ل an den nachfolgenden Sonnenbuchstaben د zu handeln. Solche Anpassung des Schriftbilds an die gesprochene Sprache ist in den Papyri mehrfach belegt. Siehe Hopkins, *Studies* § 52; Levi della Vida, *Remarks* 132. Vgl. auch die Parallele in v.13. – Zu *wa-la-ʿumrī* vgl. die analoge Konstruktion *fa-la-ʿumrī* etwa in P.Qurra 4.18. – Bei *ʾaṭlaʾuhu* bzw. *ʾuṭliʾuhu* gibt es eine Ligatur des *ʾalif* mit nachfolgendem *ṭā*.

r.13 Nach *ʾuḥibbu ʾan* muss ein Wort mit der Konnotation "(Fuṣṭāt) verlassen" gefolgt sein, vielleicht *ʾanzil* "herabsteigen," das durch die Lücke jedoch unkenntlich geworden ist.

r.14-15 *wa-laysa lī l-ḡaldu yakfīnī bi-qaḏāʾi dālīka* "außerdem habe ich nicht Geduld genug, solches zu vollbringen." Der Sinn dieser Wendung ist unklar. Vielleicht muss des letzte Wort auf r.14 الجلد *al-ḡald* anders gelesen werden.

15 *la-qad ʾalimti ʾanti* in der Form des Perfekts mit nachfolgendem Subjekt verstehe ich hier als Optativ in der Bedeutung "du sollst wissen." Zum Optativ im Arabischen der Papyri allgemein siehe Hopkins, *Studies* § 137 c.

16 *ʾawwala dī l-qaʾdati*: Von *ʾawwal* ist nur noch das *lām* erhalten, vorangehendes *ʾalif-wāw* zwar durch Ausbruch im Papyrusblatt verloren, allerdings durch die Form von zusätzlichem Tintenfraß sicher rekonstruierbar. Anschließendes *dī* ist ebenfalls teilweise zerstört, die Lesung scheint mir jedoch durch nachfolgendes *a[l-]qaʾda* gesichert.

17 Die Lesung des zweimaligen سائى als *šāʾnī* weckt Zweifel, da das hierfür erforderliche *nūn* in der Wortmitte zu abgeschliffen wäre; vgl. die Parallelen eines ähnlich niedrig angesetzten singulären finalen *yāʾ* in r.12 (*wa-la-ʿumrī*) und r.14 (*allādī*) im Unterschied zum deutlich höher angesetzten finalen *yāʾ* mit vorausgehendem *nūn* in r.15 (*ʾinnī*). Nach dem Schriftbild erscheint die Lesung *šayʾ* "Ding, Sache" in der belegten Schreibung *šāy* nahelegend (vgl. Hopkins, *Studies* § 15 d). Dies ergibt jedoch inhaltlich keinen Sinn, weshalb ich die erste Lesung, wenn auch mit Bedenken, bevorzuge. Vgl. übrigens paralleles *šāʾnī* in v.11. – Das voll punktierte واغرض kann mit Sicherheit nur als *wa-ʾuḡriḏu* in der Form *ḡrḏ* IV, nicht aber als paralleler Elativ

zum vorangehenden *ʾawḥašu* gelesen werden. Dennoch bleibt meine Lesung des ganzen Satzes (r.16-18) *wa-ʾanā l-yawma ʾawḥašu ... law lā ḥabsī bi-l-Fuṣṭāṭ* mit einigen Zweifeln behaftet.

r.18 *fa-nzurī ʾan waḡadti markab* hier mit Gebrauch des Perfekts statt des eigentlich geforderten Impf. Konj. nach der Partikel *ʾan*. Vgl. zu dieser Erscheinung Hopkins, *Studies* § 137 a. Das Objekt *markab* steht im Akk. ind., erscheint hier aber ohne Kasusendung (مركب und nicht مركبا) in Anpassung an die gesprochene Sprache. Vgl. hierzu Hopkins, *Studies* § 167.

r.19 *wa-qad ʾarsaltu ʾilayka*: Über dem *dāl* von قد befindet sich ein deutlich erkennbarer einzelner Punkt, der offensichtlich zum vorangehenden *qāf* gehört und ungenau gesetzt ist. Vgl. dazu auch انطلقت in r.24. – Finales *kāf* von *ʾilayka* schließt die Zeile in bemerkenswert breiter Schreibung ab. Offensichtlich wollte der Schreiber die Zeile an dieser Stelle vorzeitig beenden, um den nachfolgenden und nicht ganz einfach zu schreibenden Personennamen سليمان Sulaymān an den Anfang der nächsten Zeile setzen zu können.

r.20 Sulaymān mit defektivem *ʾalif* (سليمن). Vgl. dazu r.2. Bei der Konstruktion *ʾarsaltu Sulaymāna yuʾinuka* handelt es sich um eine der in den Papyrustexten häufigen asyndetischen Satzverbindungen. Vgl. Hopkins, *Studies* §§ 268-277. Die Lesung des undeutlichen يعينك scheint mir gesichert, wohingegen die inhaltlich ebenfalls möglichen Varianten يسعدك oder يصحبك, die dasselbe Wortfeld "helfen," "beistehen" abdecken würden, aufgrund des Schriftbilds wohl ausscheiden. – *safīnatan laki waḡdaki*: "ein Schiff für Dich allein" steht in Antithese zu *lā nāsa* "keine (anderen) Passagiere" in r.23. Es geht also darum, dass die angesprochene Sālīma wenn möglich ein Schiff anmieten soll, das sie allein nach al-Fuṣṭāṭ bringen kann.

r.21 *bi-dīnārīn* mit defektivem *ʾalif*, vgl. dazu r.2. – Die Schreibung von *fa-stāḡirī* ohne *hamza* und zugehörigem *hamza*-Träger (فاستجری statt فاستاجری) folgt dem auch damals bereits üblichen aktiven Sprachgebrauch *fa-stāḡirī* (statt *fa-staʾḡirī*). Ein einzelner schwacher Punkt über dem *fā* weist dieses nicht als *qāf* aus, sondern dürfte vielmehr zu den Spuren der früheren Beschreibung des Papyrus zu rechnen sein. Syntaktisch korrekter wäre übrigen *fa-stāḡirihā*, da Bezug auf *safīna*. – *bazz* mit sicherer Lesung, da mit Parallele in r.22. – *li-aṣḥābīnā* wohl mit defektiver Schreibung لاصحبنا. Zwar weist das Papyrusblatt in der Höhe der Wortmitte eine vertikale Beschädigung auf, die Platz für ein *ʾalif* geboten haben könnte; ich halte eine solche Schreibung لاصحابنا jedoch aus Gründen der Proportion für unwahrscheinlich. Die Wortbedeutung von *aṣḥāb* im vorliegenden Zusammenhang ist, *P. Marchands* folgend, hier als "Geschäftspartner" wiederzugeben. Vgl. hierzu auch Grohmann, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* Nr. 2.15.

r.23 *wa-lā nāsa* “und keine (anderen) Passagiere:” Das Wort steht inhaltlich in direktem Zusammenhang mit r.20 *laki waḥḍaki*. Die Partikel و ist stark verblasst und nur noch sehr schwach zu erkennen. – *šan’a*: Ich halte diese Lesung für die wahrscheinlichste. Der *rasm* صعه ist unstrittig, da alle vier Buchstaben deutlich zu erkennen sind. Der dritte Buchstabe ist unzweifelhaft ein *‘ayn* oder *ḡayn*, keinesfalls aber ein *fā* oder *qāf*. Das finale *hā* wiederum kann nur *hā*’ oder *tā*’ *marbūṭa* bezeichnen. Lediglich die Punktierung der ersten beiden Buchstaben ist irreführend: Zwar ist jeweils ein einzelner Punkt über dem primären ص und unter dem nachfolgenden ع zu erkennen; eine entsprechende Lesung als sehr seltenes ضبعة *ḍabi’a* oder *ḍab’a* erscheint jedoch ausgeschlossen, da die jeweiligen Wortbedeutungen (“Kamelin” nach Lane, *Lexicon*; “Hyänin” nach Dozy, *Supplément*) im vorliegenden inhaltlichen Zusammenhang abwegig sind. Eine Lesung als ضيقة *ḍiqa* “Enge” wiederum würde zwar der Punktierung der ersten beiden Buchstaben Rechnung tragen und im übrigen in den inhaltlichen Zusammenhang passen, kommt aber aufgrund der doch eindeutigen Form des dritten Buchstabens (ع statt ف) nicht in Betracht. So verbleibt nur eine Lesung als صنعة *ṣan’a*, wobei der genannte einzelne Punkt über dem *ṣād* zum nachfolgenden *nūn* gehört haben dürfte (ähnliche Beispiele für ungenau gesetzte Punkte finden sich in r.19 وقد und r.24 انطلقت), während die Unterpunktierung des *nūn* sich als Versehen oder eine Spur früherer Beschreibung des Papyrus erklären ließe. Für *šan’a* finden sich Belege in anderen Papyri, allerdings immer in der mehr abstrakten Bedeutung “Fabrikation,” “Herstellung” (Rāḡib, *Lettres nouvelles* Nr. 1.13-14 und Nr. 19-20; Becker, *Aphroditofund* Nr. 9.5-6). Lane, *Lexicon* gibt “handicraft,” “trade” an. Mit Rücksicht auf den vorliegenden Sachverhalt übersetze ich das Wort, wenn auch mit erheblicher Zurückhaltung, mit “Waren.” Eine zuletzt noch denkbare Lesung mit einem maskulinen Possessivsuffix als *šan’uhu* “ihre (also der übrigen Fahrgäste) Handelswaren” wiederum scheint mir ebenfalls nicht in Frage zu kommen. Denn das würde voraussetzen, dass der Briefschreiber vorangehendes *nās* als Bezugswort von *šan’* oder *sun’* grammatisch im Sinne eines Kollektivums im Singular verstanden hätte, was ausgeschlossen sein dürfte. Vielmehr stehen die Ausdrücke *qamḥ*, *nās* und *šan’a* parallel zueinander und bezeichnen jedes für sich im Nominativ und indeterminiert diejenigen drei Dinge, die auf keinen Fall in dem Schiff sein sollten, auf dem Sālīma reisen würde.

r.24 *‘ahwan* hier für feminin *hawnā*’. – انطلقت mit einem einzelnen Punkt über dem finalen *tā*’, der offensichtlich ungenau gesetzt ist und zum vorangehenden *qāf* gehört. Vgl. *qad* in r.19. Die Satzkonstruktion *wa-hiya ... nṭalaqat ‘ilā ‘Ihnāsa* erstreckt sich über die gesamte r.24, wobei *hiya* zu Zeilenbeginn sich vermutlich auf ein in r.23 genanntes Schiff bezieht, das sich bereits

auf dem Weg nach Ihnās befand und den Sulaymān (vgl. r.19-20) mit sich führte. – Der Ausdruck *salāmun ‘alayki minnī* ist Parenthese und steht außerhalb des ihn umgebenden eigentlichen Satzgefüges. – *Ihnās* mit ursprünglich punktiertem *nūn*, wie durch vorhandenen Tintenfraß ersichtlich ist.

r.25 نجد بن محمد: Belege für Naǧid نجد als männlicher Eigenname sind etwa *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.132.6 (Naǧid b. ‘Aṭā’ b. Naǧid) und *P.Cair.Arab.* 4.250.5 (Naǧid). In der Form Nāǧid ناجد erscheint er in *P.Cair.Arab.* 6.434.6, in der Form Naǧid نجيذ hingegen bei Ḍahabī, *Taǧrid* 2:104. – Die Lesung von يكون ist durch paralleles اكون in r.10 gesichert. Die Konstruktion *wa-sta’limī bi-Muḥammadin yakūnu* ist eine asyndetische Satzverbindung (wie in r.20). – Das *dāl* und *hā’* von *mawliduhu* sind stark verwischt und die Lesung mehr als unsicher, überdies ist die Bedeutung von *mawliduhu* (‘‘seine Geburt?’’) im vorliegenden Kontext dunkel.

r.26 wa-ʾaǧǧirī mit durch Nässe oder ähnlichem unkenntlich gewordenem *rā’*. Das nachfolgende finale *yā’* ist ebenfalls verwischt, jedoch durch seine nach rechts auslaufende Form ے noch erkennbar. – *wa-l-fuǧlu* mit einem ebenfalls durch Nässe unkenntlich gewordenen, aus dem Satzzusammenhang jedoch sicheren و.

v.1 Die hier vorgeschlagene grammatische Konstruktion *al-baytu l-kā’inu huwa ‘ilā Muḥammadin* erscheint mir selbst zweifelhaft, ich sehe jedoch keine andere mögliche Lesung.

v.2 Von ʾarsaltu sind die letzten beiden Buchstaben verloren. Sie können jedoch durch Spuren von Tintenfraß rekonstruiert werden. Das ʾalif zu Wortbeginn erscheint hier nicht in seiner zurückgeneigten Form (wie in r.3, r.17, r.25), sondern als gerade vertikale Linie (wie r.1, r.9, v.4, v.5). – ʾilayki mit durch herausgebrochene Papyrusfaser teilweise zerstörtem *lām*. – ǧāriya kann ‘‘Dienstmädchen’’ oder auch ‘‘Sklavin’’ bedeuten. – Die dialektale Form *kam yawm* ‘‘einige Tage’’ (statt des mehr klassischen *mundu ʾayyāmin*) ist bis heute in ägyptischen Dialekten gebräuchlich. Vgl. Hinds-Badawi, *Dictionary* 762-763. *kam* ist hier nur sehr schwach zu erkennen, aber doch sicher lesbar.

v.3 Von ʾasʾaluki sind lediglich die ersten beiden Buchstaben erhalten, der Wortrest ist unkenntlich bis auf eine Haste am Wortende, die auf finales *kāf* hindeuten könnte. Dennoch spricht für eine solche Lesung der grammatische Zusammenhang, da nachfolgendes ʾan tuḥbirī ein Verb in der ersten Person Imperfekt erfordert. – ʾan tuḥbirī ṣaḥābatakum: Auf gestrecktes primäres *šād* folgt ein nur flüchtig geschriebenes, aber doch deutlich erkennbares *ḥā’*. Eine Lesung ʾan tuḥbirī bi-ṣiyānatikum ‘‘dass Du berichtest, dass Ihr wohlbehalten seid’’ hingegen scheidet aus, da die hierzu notwendige Partikel َ zu Wort-

beginn fehlt und darüber hinaus auf das *šād* kein *yā'* يَا, sondern ein verwischtes aber noch gut erkennbares *hā'* حَا folgt. Die Frage, wer diese Partner waren, bleibt unklar. Jedenfalls scheint es sich nicht um dieselben Partner wie die des Briefschreibers (r.21) gehandelt zu haben, vielmehr vielleicht um Geschäftspartner des Sohnes. – *wa-ʿan tuḏīnī* steht parallel zum vorangehenden *ṣaḥābatakum*. Unsichere Lesung des finalen *yā'*, da stark verwischt. Ich halte aber eine Lesung *tuḏīnikum* oder ähnliches, also mit suffigiertem Personalpronomen der 2. Pers. Pl., für grammatisch unwahrscheinlich. Eher dürfte der erkennbare senkrechte Strich zum darüber liegenden finalen *mīm* in v.2 gehören.

v.4 *ʿinnī ʿalā*: Der zweite Buchstabe von إِنِّي ist zerstört, es scheint sich jedoch eher um ein *nūn* als um ein *lām* gehandelt zu haben. Am Ende des zweiten Wortes ist schwach der Rest eines sehr stark nach unten gezogenen unteren Bogens eines *yā'* zu erkennen, der bis in v.5 hineinreicht. Ähnliche Formen im Text finden sich in r.2 und r.21 sowie v.18. Das primäre *ʿayn* weist eine ähnlich langgezogene Form auf wie in r.2 und r.21.

v.6 *qad ʿarsaltuhā ʿilayhi*: Nur sehr schwach erkennbare, allerdings unter Bezug auf eine Parallelstelle in v.2 wahrscheinliche Buchstabengruppe ارسالت. Die nach dieser Lesung sich anschließenden Buchstaben لته wären dann nicht mehr erhalten, können jedoch durch erkennbare Spuren von Tintenfraß im Papyrus rekonstruiert werden. Im unmittelbaren Anschluss an die Textlücke ist ein finales *ʿalif* erhalten, welches Teil eines Personalsuffixes 3. Pers. fem. Sg. (mit vorangehendem, jetzt verlorenem *hā'*) gewesen sein könnte. Eine Lesung *ʿarsaltuhā* dürfte sich grammatisch und inhaltlich auf das Dienstmädchen (*ḡāriya*; vgl. die Parallele in v.2) beziehen. Möglich wäre aber auch ein Bezug auf Handelswaren, die als gegenständliche Sachgruppe ebenfalls mit dem Suffix fem. Sg. bezeichnet werden. – *lam ʿarsaltuhu*: Sichere Lesung von *lam*, nachfolgendes *ʿarsaltu* hingegen weitgehend zerstört. Zu Zeilenende könnte ein *tā'* erkennbar sein, das in Verbindung mit unmittelbar nachfolgendem *ʿilayki* in v.7 als Affix der 1. Pers. Sg. gedeutet werden kann. Das der vorliegenden grammatischen Konstruktion geschuldete Objektsuffix *-hu* hingegen fehlt, könnte aber verwischt sein. Die Lesung ارسالته ist jedoch naheliegend, nicht zuletzt durch den wiederholten Gebrauch von *rsI* IV im selben Sachverhalt (v.2, v.7).

v.7 *wa-ʿarsaltu qamḥ wa-... ʿilayhi*: *wa* mit sehr unsicherer Lesung. Von *ʿarsaltu* sind die ersten beiden Buchstaben möglicherweise durch Abbruch der Papyrusfaser verschwunden. Die Lesung von *qamḥ* und *riyāṭan* ist unsicher, allerdings durch den inhaltlichen Kontext sowie die noch erkennbaren

Buchstabenreste naheliegender (für *riyāṭan* gibt es eine Parallele mit sicherer Lesung in v.10).

v.8 Das erste Wort der Zeile vermag sich mir trotz des klar erkennbaren *rasm* ر لا ط nicht erschließen. – *lan ʿağida*: Das erste Wort mit teilweise zerstörtem *nūn*.

v.9 *qad* *ʿilayki*: Das einleitende *qad* kennzeichnet eine zum Zeitpunkt der Briefabfassung bereits abgeschlossene Handlung. Nachfolgend ist ein Verb in der 3. Pers. Pl. Perf. (wegen des Bezugs zu vorangehendem *fa-ʿinnahum* in v.8) zu vermuten, das eine solche Tätigkeit bezeichnete (vielleicht *ʿarsalūhu* "sie schickten es Dir zu").

v.10 Zur Schreibung von *ṭamānīna* mit defektivem *ʿalif* vgl. r.2. – Für *riyāṭan* (sg. *rayṭa*) "Leinengewand" gibt es in den Papyri Belege unter anderem in *P.Cair.Arab.* 6.392 und Grohmann, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* Nr. 3.r. – Zur defektiven Schreibung von *dīnār* vgl. r.21. – *dīnī* mit sehr eng zusammengezogenen und flüchtig geschriebenen Buchstaben د ي ن . – *dīnār* mit defektivem *ʿalif* wie vorheriges *ṭamānīna*.

v.11 *wa-lā talūmīnī ... fī šaʿnī*: Dem Schriftbild zufolge wäre auch eine Lesung *wa-lā talwī* (für *talwī*) *minnī ... fī šaʿnī* "und vernachlässige mich nicht ... in dieser meiner Sache" plausibel. Hierfür würde der sehr kurze Abstand zwischen *mīm* und finalem *yāʾ* sprechen, der nur schwer Platz für ein weiteres *nūn* bietet. Da die fragliche Stelle jedoch zu zerstört ist, um eine Klärung nach paläographischen Gesichtspunkten zu erlauben, bevorzuge ich die in inhaltlicher Hinsicht sehr viel schlüssigere erste Lesung *talūmīnī*. – Zur nicht ganz sicheren Lesung von *šaʿnī* vgl. r.17.

v.12-13 *law-i ṣaṭaʿtu ʿilaykumā sabīl*: Hier wird *law* als Wunschartikel gebraucht, die nachfolgendes Perfekt regiert und keinen Nachsatz zur Folge hat. – *sabīl* س ب ي ل, obwohl im Akk. ind., erscheint im Schriftbild ohne Kasusendung (anstatt *sabīlan* س ب ي ل ا). Vgl. oben Anm. r.18. Die Bedeutung von *sabīl* im vorliegenden Kontext bleibt mir unklar.

v.13 *aš-šammās* اش ش م س mit direktem Artikel ohne *lām*. Vgl. dazu die Parallele von *ad-dīn* ا د ي ن in r.12.

v.14 *law qad laqītuha la-...tu minhu*: In der Textlücke zwischen لو und لق ي ت ه sind sehr schwach Spuren von قد erkennbar. Das erste Wort in v.14 ist nicht zu erkennen, es handelt sich jedoch mit Sicherheit um den Beginn des mit *la-* eingeleiteten Nachsatzes von *law*. Folglich ist hier ein Verb in der 1. Pers. Sg. Perf. zu vermuten, welches die unmittelbare Folge des Vordersatzes benennt (vielleicht *la-saʿaltuhu* "dann hätte ich ihn gefragt" oder ähnliches).

Die Partikel *qad* in *wa-law qad laqītuḥu* bezeichnet eine bereits vollendete und unreal gedachte Bedingung, also eine Handlung, die nicht mehr eintreten kann.

v.15-16 Das erste Wort von v.16 muss Teil eines weiblichen Eigennamens sein, der das Subjekt des Satzes darstellt und Bezugspunkt für nachfolgendes *ḡawāriḥā* mit seinem Possessivsuffix der 3. Pers. Sg. fem. ist. Deshalb ist am stark verwischten Zeilenende von v.15 am ehesten ein *ʿummu* "Mutter von ..." zu erkennen, so dass der fragliche Eigenname Umm Yazīd "Mutter von Yazīd" gelautet haben dürfte. – *yaqraʿū ʿalayki s-salāma*: Die Aussprache der Verbform *qrʾ* I (يقرأ) dürfte in ihrer dialektalen, bis heute gebräuchlichen Form *yīqrū* gelautet haben, weshalb hier (wie analog auch in v.17 und v.19) kein *hamza*-Träger im Schriftbild erscheint. – Rund um *ʿinna* herum sind deutliche Spuren einer früheren Beschreibung des Papyrus zu erkennen.

v.17 Auf Umm ʿUbaydallāḥ "Mutter von ʿUbaydallāḥ" folgen zwei weitere weibliche Eigennamen. Alle drei Namen stehen parallel zueinander und bilden das Subjekt des Satzes. Der zweite Name ist verwischt, könnte jedoch als *Sahlā* gelesen werden. Der dritte Name hingegen ist eindeutig als كسره zu erkennen. Er kann, wie hier geschehen, als *Kabīra* gelesen werden (Belege bei Gratzl, *Frauenamen* 30; *P.Hamb.Arab.* 12.46.7), weitere Lesemöglichkeiten sind *Kaṭīra* (Gratzl, *Frauenamen* 30; *Ḍahabī, Muṣṭabih* 438) und *Kunayza* (Gratzl, *Frauenamen* 42). – *yīqrū* in der 3. Pers. Pl. Imperf. hier wohl nur versehentlich ohne abschließendes *ʿalif* geschrieben, liegt doch bei parallelen Fällen in v.16 und v.19 ein solches vor.

v.19 *ʿinna ... yaqraʿū*: Abgesehen davon, dass das Verb in Anpassung an den dialektalen Sprachgebrauch keinen *hamza*-Träger aufweist (vgl. v.16), müsste die Verbform an dieser Stelle im Dual *yaqraʿāni* stehen. Das Versehen erklärt sich aber aus dem zurückhaltenden Gebrauch des Duals in der Sprache der Papyri wie auch aus dem Umstand, dass der Brief gegen Ende in erheblich flüchtigerer Art und auf engerem Raum abgefasst ist. – Zwischen *ʿinna* und *yaqraʿū* stehen zwei weibliche Eigennamen als Subjekt des Satzes. Der erste Name lautet *Ḳuṭayna* (belegt in *Ḍahabī, Muṣṭabih* 23) und ist bis auf sein abschließendes *tāʾ marbūṭa* vollständig punktiert. Den zweiten Namen lese ich als *Badriyya* (Beleg bei *Ṣaḥāwī, Ḍawʿ* 12:12). Beide Personennamen sind durch die Konjunktion *wa* verbunden, welche zwar stark verwischt, aufgrund der vorliegenden grammatischen Konstruktion jedoch unstrittig ist.

v.20 Die Adresszeile zeigt starke Abreibungen, so dass von ihr nur Reste der mittleren Partie erkennbar sind (*allāhi ʿilā ʿumara bni*). Allerdings lassen sich die übrigen Teile aus dem inhaltlichen Kontext von r.1 sicher rekonstruieren.

Abkürzungen

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A Medical Treatise *On Remedies?* *P.Turner* 14 Revised¹

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Abstract

P.Turner 14 preserves a fragment of a Greek medical text in question-and-answer format dated to the later second century AD. This paper offers some new supplements to the text, and, in the light of these, a re-interpretation of its subject matter and medical genre, as well as some observations on the possible doctrines which may have influenced it.

Among the growing number of published medical texts in question-and-answer format,² a particularly interesting example is furnished by *P.Turner* 14 (= P.Mich. inv. 6657 = MP³ 2340.1), first edited by L.C. and H.C. Youtie in the volume of papyri published in honour of Sir Eric G. Turner.³ This text has been variously described in catalogues of medical papyri as “un questionnaire relatif aux propriétés médicinales de l’huile d’olive et au moment le plus oppor-

¹ I am very grateful to Anastasia Maravela-Solbakk for her helpful comments and criticisms on an earlier draft, and to the anonymous reader, who improved this paper on a number of points.

² For medical texts in question-and-answer format on papyrus in general, see especially A.M. Ieraci Bio, “L’erotapokrisis nella letteratura medica,” in C. Moreschini (ed.), *Esegesi, parafrasi e compilazione in età tardoantica* (Napoli 1995) 187-207; I. Andorlini, “Testi medici per la scuola: raccolte di definizioni e questionari nei papiri,” in A. Garzya and J. Jouanna (eds.), *I testi medici greci: tradizione e ecdotica* (Napoli 1999) 7-15; A.E. Hanson, “Text and Context in Papyrus Catechisms on Afflictions of the Head,” in A. Garzya and J. Jouanna (eds.), *Trasmissione e ecdotica dei testi medici greci* (Napoli 2003) 199-217.

³ H.C. Youtie & L.C. Youtie, “A Medical Catechism,” in *Papyri Greek and Egyptian, Edited by Various Hands in Honour of Eric Gardner Turner on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (*P. Turner*) (London 1981) 72-74 and pl. VI.

tun pour appliquer une embrocation,”⁴ or as a “questionario di farmacologia.”⁵ Such interpretations of this text seem somewhat inadequate, however, and in this paper I shall offer some new supplements and readings, before discussing the subject matter of the preserved section. I shall also offer some suggestions as to the type of medical work from which it may have come and the medical doctrines with which it appears to display some affinities.

Assigned by its first editors to the second half of the second century AD, *P.Turner* 14 preserves a column of 29 lines, of which the upper and left margins are intact, with a few sporadic traces remaining of the preceding column. The papyrus has been cut to accommodate on the back a private letter which was edited by H.C. Youtie as *P.Turner* 43, assigned to the third century.⁶ Its provenance is unknown. The medical text, written with the fibres, is divided at ll. 16-17 by a question, written within the main text and signalled by a *diple obelismene* in the margin, and a colon followed by a blank space both at the end of the previous answer and at the end of the question itself. The first editors also assign such a signalling function to a thick wedge-shaped mark of ink in the left margin at this point. Thus ll. 1-16 constitute presumably the latter part of an answer to a question now lost. A further interesting feature of the papyrus is the number found centred in the upper margin, apparently by a second hand, signifying that this is the 18th column of the treatise.

The contrast between the opposing effects of oil from the unripe olive (ὀμράκινον) and of sweet olive oil (γλυκέλαιον) forms the subject matter of the remains of the answer at ll. 1-16. It subsequently becomes clear, however, that these oils are discussed primarily with reference to their use in embrocations (l. 14). At ll. 1-7, the author sets forth their opposing properties. The oil of unripe or green olives has a constricting effect (it is σταλτικόν), such that it draws together and contracts the parts of the body. We are then told that as the olive ripens, it loses this property, and the oil which is thereby produced has a relaxing effect (it is χαλαστικόν). At ll. 7-12, these properties are further elaborated with reference to the demands of practical therapy and the pathological conditions for which they are suitable. Two contrasting conditions requiring the application of oil are given, the former representing a lax or rarefied state, the latter a constricted one, further differentiated by the specification that the treatment should seek to ἐπισυνέχειν (l. 9) in the former case, and ἀνείνειν the

⁴ M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* (Geneva 1981), 406.

⁵ I. Andorlini, “L’apporto dei papiri alla conoscenza della scienza medica antica,” in *ANRW* 2.37.1 (Berlin and New York 1993) 513 (no. 97).

⁶ This letter has recently been revised in N. Litinas, “The Lack of Linen-Weavers,” *BASP* 41 (2004) 115-118.

parts of the body (l. 12) in the latter. In this regard, the first editors' restoration of καυματιζομένων μερῶν at ll. 8-9 (which they translate as "the parts that are inflamed") appears doubtful. The verb καυματίζω is rarely found in medical authors, and where it is, it refers to a general increase in temperature rather than inflammation or any underlying pathological condition.⁷ Rather, the state of laxity or dissolution to which the bodily parts are subjected points to the supplement ρευματιζομένων μερῶν ("the parts suffering from flux"), a technical term in similar contexts used by such writers as Soranus.⁸ The notion of the excessive flow of fluid entailed by this word also better suits the reference to the immoderate movement (κίνησις) which must be inhibited at l. 10. At line 11, the *ed. pr.* has the participle ἐστενωμένων. However, there is a vertical break in the papyrus here, and its two parts partially overlap, obscuring the initial vertical of the ν. The vertical stroke before the first ν in fact has a diagonal joined to its top clearly rising from left to right, such that γ should be read. The text thus reads ἐστεγνωμένων, a term used to refer to the constricted state of a body, which is regularly paired with cognates of ῥεῦμα describing the opposite.⁹

Furthermore, as it stands, the text of the *ed. pr.* at ll. 7-12 recommends that ὀμφάκινον oil be used both to relax and to constrict the differently affected parts of the body. Given the author's comments at ll. 1-7, the sense requires that ὀμφάκινον should be used in the former case, whereas γλυκέλαιον should be used in the latter. The repetition of ἐπὶ τῶν at ll. 8 and 11 further marks the contrast. At the end of l. 10, therefore, where the first editors have restored τῇ[ς νόσου], the required sense would be provided by τῷ [δὲ, answering τῷ [μὲν at l. 7, and I suggest τῷ [δ' ἄλλῳ] as a plausible supplement. The papyrus surface is somewhat damaged at the break at this point, and although η is not dotted in the *ed. pr.*, there appears to be some doubt about this reading.¹⁰ A

⁷ Cf. Sor. *Gyn.* 2.39.7 (CMG 4, p. 82.13 Ilberg), on how to identify whether an infant is being overheated.

⁸ Cf., e.g., Sor. *Gyn.* 1.29.2 (CMG 4, p. 19.14-16 Ilberg), where the term is used to describe the Methodist concept of flux in discussing Mnaseas' views on the usefulness of menstruation, comparing this with the effects of venesection: ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὴν φλεβοτομίαν τοῖς μὲν στεγνοπαθοῦσιν ἀρμόζειν διαχαλῶσαν, τοῖς δὲ ρευματιζομένοις βλαβερὰν εἶναι διὰ τὸ συναύξειν τὴν εὐδιαφορησίαν.

⁹ Cf., e.g., Philumenus ap. Aët. *Iatr.* 9.20 (S. Zervos, *Athena* 23, 1911, 315.2-3), ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἐστεγνωμένην μαλάσσει, ρευματιζομένην δ' ἐπέχει; Sor. *Gyn.* 3.4.2 (CMG 4, p. 96.11-13 Ilberg), κὰν μὴ διαφέρῃ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐνδέχεται πάσχειν αὐτὸ διαφόρως, ὅτι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος ποτὲ μὲν στεγνοπαθεῖ, ποτὲ δὲ ρευματίζεται; and *ibid.* 3.5.2 (CMG 4, p. 96.26-27 Ilberg).

¹⁰ The online image of the papyrus which I have consulted is available at: <http://images.umd.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/getimage-idx?cc=apis&entryid=X-2914&viewid=6657r>.

vertical stroke is visible extending slightly above the horizontal of the τ, and there may also be a trace of a horizontal, indeed much like η. The similarity, however, between ω and the upper half of η will be seen in this hand, where, as the editors have noted, “ω often appears with no centre stroke” (cf. esp. τω at ll. 7, 18, 27), so that ω [emerges as an equally possible reading. Lines 7-12 will thus now read:¹¹

τῷ [μὲν γὰρ]
ὀμφακίνῳ χρώμεθα ἐλαίῳ ἐπὶ τ[ῶν ῥευ-]
ματιζομένων μερῶν ἐπισυνέχ[ειν βου-]
10 λόμενοι τὴν ἄμετρον κείνησιν, τῷ [δ’ ἄλλῳ]
ἐπ[ὶ] τῶν ἐστεγνωμένων πρὸς τὸ χά[λασμα]
ἀνεῖναι τὰ σώματα.

“For we use oil of unripe olives in cases of parts suffering from flux when we want to limit the immoderate movement, but (we use) the other [i.e. sweet olive oil] in cases of constricted parts for relaxation (when we want) to relieve the bodies.”

The final sentence of the first answer, at ll. 12-16, addresses the special considerations to be taken into account in administering the embrocation, firstly regarding its timing, and secondly its quantity.¹² The verb παραμετρεῖσθαι (l. 13) is here used to describe the process of tailoring or adapting the therapy to the demands of the illness, where ταῦτα refers to the oils employed. Thus the embrocation is not to be employed too late (according to the first editors’ supplement at l. 13) when it will do no good, nor in too great a quantity. At ll. 15-16, where the author describes the negative effect of such an excess, a reference to the paroxysms would offer better sense: τοὺς γὰρ [παροξυ]σμοὺς ἐρεθίζει.¹³ An excessive embrocation will thus provoke or stimulate the paroxysms, which finds parallels in the statement at ll. 21-23 that a catabrocation applied during the time of the paroxysms will provide material (ὕλη) for the disease (i.e. that

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¹¹ I agree with the first editors’ supplement πρὸς τὸ χά[λασμα] at l. 11, and have preferred to keep the syntax parallel to the previous clause, with βουλόμενοι understood with ἀνεῖναι, but an alternative supplement, πρὸς τὸ χα[λᾶν καὶ] ἀνεῖναι τὰ σώματα, should also be considered.

¹² At l. 15, μήτε ἄγαν πολλῇ must refer to quantity rather than frequency, as the first editors interpret it in their translation.

¹³ At the end of l. 15, the first editors have supplemented τοὺς γὰρ [πεπα]σμοὺς (‘the ripening of the disease’).

it will nourish it),¹⁴ and at ll. 19-21 that the soothing effects of the catabroca-tions, used in proper measure (μετρίως), serve to prevent the paroxysms when applied during the overall increase of the affection. The embrocation is thus to be handled with care, since it can stimulate the paroxysms and increase the affection if it is applied in too great a quantity, or at the wrong time.

These general remarks on the need to tailor therapy to the needs of the illness then lead smoothly to the question at ll. 16-17 which inquires directly after the correct time (καιρός) for administering the embrocation. According to common practice among medical authors of the Roman period, the καιρός for a form of therapy is expressed in two different senses, firstly with reference to the whole disease from beginning to end, and secondly with reference to the individual phases within the disease, distinguished by a series of paroxysms. Both the disease as a whole and its partial phases are made up of four stages (καιροί): beginning, increase, crisis, and abatement. It is to the distinction between these two senses of καιρός that the formulations at ll. 17-18 and 21-22 refer: ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὅλων παθῶν ..., ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν [κατὰ] μέρος παροξυσμῶν ("in diseases as a whole ..., in the partial paroxysms ..."). Embrocations are thus to be prescribed only at the very beginning of the entire affection, as a preventative measure as it starts to increase, and not at the time of the recurring paroxysms, since this will aggravate the disease by providing material for it as a sort of fuel.¹⁵

I have referred to Soranus several times in the above, and there are obvious parallels between the contrary properties and applications of the oils described and the doctrine of the Methodist school of medicine. For the Methodists, all pathological affections could be characterised by one of three commonalities (κοινότητες): the "lax/loose," the "constricted," and the "mixed" which involved both. Simply put, it was the task of the physician to recognise the prevailing commonality and to apply a contrary remedy, constricting the lax state, or

¹⁴ The first editors have translated ὕλη τοῦ πάθους as "a remedy for the ailment," but it refers to the fact that the treatment can contribute to the increase of the paroxysms when applied at the wrong time. For a parallel use of ὕλη, cf. e.g. Aret. *De Causis et Signis* 4.2.4 (CMG 2, p. 67.24-27 Hude ed. alt.), οὐδὲ ἔδρην γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι οὖρητήρσι [οὐκ] ἴσχουσι οἱ λίθοι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ψαμμία ξὺν τοῖσι οὖροισι κάτω διαπλέει, τάπερ καὶ σημήϊα καὶ ὕλη τοῦ πάθους γίνεταί, where the small particles both indicate the presence of and provide the raw material for the affection, i.e. the kidney stones.

¹⁵ Cf. Antyllus ap. Orib. *Coll. Med.* 9.22.1 (CMG 6.1.2, p. 24.10-12), διὰ μὲν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν νόσων παραλαμβάνοντες ἐμβροχάς, ἀκαίρου τηνικαῦτα τῆς χρήσεως τῶν καταπλασμάτων καθεστῶσης.

loosening the constricted.¹⁶ Significantly, cognates of the verbs ρευματίζω and στεγνύω found on the papyrus are employed in a technical sense by Methodists to refer to these lax and constricted commonalities (cf. nn. 8 and 9). The opposition σταλτικόν vs. χαλαστικόν, however, among a number of such oppositions, provided a common conceptual framework for thinking about drug actions in antiquity, and by itself this need not reflect any direct Methodist influence, or reference to the κοινότητες. Nevertheless, we may be able to go further. It should be noted that these forms of embrocation are described here *only* in terms of this particular opposition, rather than as one within a matrix of various opposing actions. Dioscorides, and Galen more systematically, for example, describe the properties of olive oil with reference in some way to the elemental qualities, especially the hot/cold dichotomy, which are absent from our author's description, and irrelevant to Methodist therapeutics.¹⁷ Additionally, in an interesting passage on pharmacological terminology, Galen discusses certain neologisms of the more recent doctors, and specifically of the Methodists, used to describe drug effects. He has no particular problem with some, but strongly objects to those which refer to the Methodist concept of *metasyncrisis* (Gal. *De Simpl. Med. Temp. ac Fac.* 5.24-25 [11.781 Kühn]):

... ἦν ἄλλοι τε τινες τῶν νεωτέρων ἰατρῶν ἐποιήσαντο καινοτομοῦντες, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι μεθοδικοί. [ch. 25] τὸ μὲν γὰρ σταλτικός τινος ὑπ' αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι δυνάμεις, ἢ σφιγγούσας ἢ συναγούσας ἢ ἀπωθουμένας, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, οὐτ' ἄτοπον οὐτ' ἀσαφές.

... which certain others of the more recent physicians have done, coining new terms, not least those known as Methodists. That certain properties are called by them 'constricting,' 'binding,' 'capable of drawing together,' or 'expelling,' or some other such term, is not strange or unclear.

It is notable that the first three of the four terms which Galen associates with the Methodists are used on our papyrus to describe the actions of olive oil, namely, at ll. 3-4, σταλτικόν, συνάγει and σφίγγει.¹⁸ While it is true that Di-

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. M. Frede, "The Method of the So-called Methodical School of Medicine," in his *Essays in Ancient Philosophy* (Minneapolis 1987) 261-278; D. Gourevitch, "La pratique méthodique: définition de la maladie, indication et traitement," in P. Mudry and J. Pigeaud (eds.), *Les écoles médicales à Rome* (Geneva 1991) 51-81.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Diosc. *Mat. Med.* 1.30.1 (pp. 33.19-34.6 Wellmann, vol. 1); Gal. *De Simpl. Med. Temp. ac Fac.* 6.5.4 (11.868.7-869.1 Kühn).

¹⁸ Although Galen mentions the "more recent doctors" in general, it is clear that he is thinking of the Methodists here – the whole of chapter 25 is devoted to a digression

oscorides employs the terms σταλτικός, στέλλω, and συνάγω and its cognates in the *De Materia Medica*, he does not use σφίγγω or ἀπωθέω. This is somewhat by the by, however, as Galen's meaning is presumably not that the Methodists are the only people to use such terms (Galen also uses them himself), but that as a generalised group Methodists often appropriate them to describe the salient properties of drugs according to their distinctive understanding of pathology – they are useful words for representing the constricting and loosening effects of drugs with reference to the commonalities, and their occurrence together in this papyrus text is perhaps suggestive.

Broader parallels, too, for the uses of the various types of olive oil in this way can be found throughout the Methodist works of Caelius Aurelianus. *Celeres Passiones* 1.67-68 (CML 6.1, p. 60 Bendz), on the treatment of phrenitis, for example, recommends the use of warm, sweet olive oil when the affection involves a state of constriction (*strictura*), but when a combined state of constriction and looseness (*solutio*) arises, the head is to be treated in the same way, while the middle parts are to be fomented with cold, green olive oil, specifically because the sweetness relieves the constriction (*dulcedo stricturam temperat*, p. 60.24-25 Bendz). At *Tardae Passiones* 2.153 and 155 (p. 638.5-7, 28-30 Bendz), green olive oil is to be applied to counteract the state of looseness represented by haemorrhage. At *Tardae Passiones* 3.21-24 (pp. 690-692 Bendz), on diseases of the oesophagus, fomentations of warm, sweet olive oil are prescribed for those involving a state of constriction (*strictura*), but for those involving a state of flux (*rheumatismus* or *solutio*), Spanish, mastic, or myrtle oil is to be given (3.30, p. 696.12-14 Bendz). Caelius here explains the effectiveness of various embrocations for individual diseases with reference to specific tenets of Methodist doctrine, and there are clear similarities with the general accounts of the therapeutic actions of embrocations on the papyrus.

Thus coincidences both in terminology and in patterns of therapy can be traced between this papyrus text and Methodist doctrine, attested in a variety of sources. It is, nevertheless, a hazardous enterprise to align a practical text such as this with a particular medical theory without the survival of any identifiable names or passages, and doubt will always remain. I intend here only to highlight certain aspects of this text which may help to place it in a clearer context, without laying down any firm attributions. Furthermore, it may indeed be inappropriate to look for or to claim a unified and consistent Methodist framework in texts such as that preserved in *P.Turner* 14, in such a way as would ignore the possibility of eclectic influences. It might be more useful in such cases, and especially with a fragmentary text lacking a broader

attacking Methodism and its foremost exponents.

context, to think of “elements” of Methodism or Methodist “influences,” without necessarily implying the author’s underlying adherence to the tenets of a particular medical sect. We might therefore detect in this papyrus fragment aspects of the terminology and conceptual framework employed by its author which coincide with similar patterns in the work of known Methodist authors, but refrain from classifying the text as a Methodist work outright.¹⁹

But from what kind of work is this fragment likely to have come? Rather than positing that the first part of this text dealt specifically with the properties of olive oil, whereas the second question and answer treated a separate topic,²⁰ I would suggest that the whole preserved section deals with embrocations, and that the first question and answer here inquired after the different pathological circumstances or conditions under which they are to be employed. The discussion of the properties of olive oil will thus be incidental to the discussion of embrocations, forming a pertinent digression on the effects of the liquids which are used in this form of treatment. A remark is warranted here, however, on the fact that the term ἐμβροχή is used only in the first answer (l. 14), whereas καταβροχή is used in the second (ll. 17, 28). This clearly suggests that the author has in mind slightly different forms of embrocation in each section, though without further context it will be difficult to surmise their relationship within the structure of this work. The precise semantic distinction between ἐμβροχαί and καταβροχαί in this text, and the author’s motives for switching to the latter at l. 16, unfortunately remain obscure to me. There seems little doubt, however, that the distinction between them will have been a relatively minor one, and that they belong together as members of the same class of remedy. We may infer that the author (or compiler) of this text has isolated embrocations in general as a discrete type of therapy, and has devoted a section of his work

¹⁹ It is worth mentioning that two other medical papyri in question-and-answer format directly refer to the Methodists, namely *P.Mil.Vogl.* 1.15 (= *MP*³ 2340) and *P.Oxy.* 2.234 + 52.3654 (= *MP*³ 2360.2). *P.Mil.Vogl.* 1.15 col. 2.14-15 (fibres ↓), and perhaps also col. 1.7-8 (fibres →), refer to the Methodists’ views on the cause of certain acute and chronic diseases, or rather, as seems more likely, their lack of views on the matter. *P.Oxy.* 52.3654 fr. 8.3-6 defines the Methodists’ use of the term κοινότης. The content of these papyri, however, appears to have little connection with *P.Turner* 14. Although *P.Oxy.* 52.3654 contains some therapeutic material (cf. fr. 2), the thrust of the text seems to be of a much more theoretical nature – in particular, the discussion of the Methodist meaning of κοινότης is contrasted with a separate definition of the term (cf. fr. 8.7-11, τί ἐστὶν κοινότης; etc.) which appears to be relevant rather to its use in dogmatic metaphysics, and it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the overall subject matter of the surviving fragments. Despite their common use of question-headings, I doubt that there are significant parallels between this text and that of *P.Turner* 14.

²⁰ Cf. *ed. pr.*, p. 72.

to an elaboration of the method of their employment in treating disease, not with reference to specific ailments, but as a broad category. It should also be emphasised that embrocations fall under the division of therapy pertaining to diet or regimen (δίαιτα), as opposed to pharmacology and surgery.

With regard to the formulation of the question found in *P.Turner* 14 (τίς ἄριστος καιρός), parallels have been noted with certain passages recorded by Oribasius in his *Collectiones Medicae*, especially those from the works of the second century AD physician Herodotus in which he deals in a general manner with forms of treatment such as drink (ποτόν), rubbing/massage (τρίψις ἀνασκευαστική), and phlebotomy.²¹ These passages all come from Herodotus' treatise *De Remediis*, and all are associated again with regimen. We find the same general analyses of particular types of dietetic remedy, including consideration of the appropriate καιρός, and without reference to specific diseases, in the excerpts from the *De Remediis* of Antyllus.²² Some of Oribasius' excerpts from Antyllus' work are also introduced by headings in the form of a question.²³ The more significant parallel with Herodotus and Antyllus, I would suggest, is in the isolation of one form of treatment associated with regimen, and the elaboration of general and universally-applied therapeutic principles which govern its use, which includes discussion of the καιρός or correct time for treatment. It is important to note that the use of question-headings in Oribasius' excerpts, with similar formulations, suggests that the question-heading in *P.Turner* 14 need not automatically categorise the text as some sort of introductory manual for the student of medicine, a general assumption that is often made with regard to the medical catechisms.²⁴ The question-and-answer

²¹ The first editors, p. 72, draw attention to a number of passages in Orib. *Coll. Med.* 6-8. I. Andorlini (n. 5) 513, n. 63, more specifically recognises the importance of the parallel with the phrasing used in Herodotus, *De Remediis* (Περὶ βοηθημάτων) cited at *Coll. Med.* 5.30 (CMG 6.1.1, p. 147.23-24 Raeder), περὶ ποτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν Ἡροδότου· καὶ ποίῳ καιρῷ παροξυσμοῦ τοῦτ' ἔχρηστέον; and 6.20.1-2 (CMG 6.1.1, p. 175.1-7 Raeder). One might compare also the chapter from Herodotus' book Περὶ τῶν κενουμένων βοηθημάτων at *Coll. Med.* 7.8 (CMG 6.1.1, p. 209ff. Raeder), with its heading τίς καιρὸς φλεβοτομίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ μέρος καιροῖς.

²² Cf. e.g. Orib. *Coll. Med.* 5.28 (CMG 6.1.1, p. 146.15ff. Raeder), Ἐκ τῶν Ἀντύλλου, περὶ διακλύσματος, ἐκ τοῦ γ' λόγου Περὶ βοηθημάτων, ἐκ τῶν προσφερομένων; and further *Coll. Med.* 6.1-3 (CMG 6.1.1, p. 155.3 ff. Raeder); 6.5 (CMG 6.1.1, p. 157.27ff. Raeder); 6.21-22 (CMG 6.1.1, p. 177.8ff. Raeder).

²³ Cf. e.g. the question-headings to Orib. *Coll. Med.* 7.7 and 9-12.

²⁴ For the overall likelihood that the chapter headings in Oribasius formed part of his original work, see R. de Lucia, "Doxographical Hints in Oribasius' *Collectiones Medicae*," in P.J. van der Eijk (ed.), *Ancient Histories of Medicine* (Leiden, Boston and Köln 1999) 473-89 at 483, n. 20.

format in fact appears to have been at home in a wide range of forms of technical literature, and we should perhaps be cautious in regarding its presence per se as indicative of a distinct medical genre.²⁵

It seems plausible, then, that the general scheme found in these *De Remediis* treatises is at work in the text preserved in *P. Turner* 14, and that the papyrus treatise constituted a similar sort of book, or at least a discrete section of a book, on various types of remedies and their applications – similar in structure and scope, if not in its details.²⁶ Moreover, a very close parallel is also offered by another papyrus fragment. Isabella Andorlini has already noted certain coincidences between the language employed in *P. Turner* 14 and PSI inv. CNR 85/86, a treatise in question-and-answer format dealing in its best-preserved section with phlebotomy, and assigned to the late first or early second century AD.²⁷ The correspondences are to be discerned not only in its format, especially its question τίς καιρὸς φλεβοτομίας; (fr. A, col. 2.40-41), but also in its use of terminology commonly found in Methodist contexts, viz. e.g. ἐστέγνωμένους (fr. A, col. 2.1), διατρίτου (fr. A, col. 2.43-44),²⁸ and furthermore in its isolation of a form of dietetic treatment discussed in general terms. Whether or not these two fragments represent two copies of one and the same treatise may indeed merit some speculation, but it seems clear at least that they each belong to a closely similar form or genre of medical writing with parallels in structure and content among the *De Remediis* literature.

²⁵ Note that question-headings are widely employed in a similar way throughout Soranus' *Gynaecia* and Caelius Aurelianus' *Cel. Pass.* and *Tard. Pass.* Comparisons can also be drawn, for example, with the question-headings found in Aëtius' *Placita*, the doxographical compilation on natural philosophy reconstructed by H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin 1879).

²⁶ Treatises *De Remediis* are also attested for other ancient physicians, such as Asclepiades, *De Communibus Auxiliis* (cf. Celsus 2.14.1; Caelius Aurelianus, *Cel. Pass.* 1.152), and Soranus, *Περὶ βοηθημάτων* (cf. *Gyn.* 3.28.7 [p. 112.2 Ilberg]). The references to works of this title by different authors found in Caelius Aurelianus are consistently concerned with individual forms of treatment and the general advice associated with their use.

²⁷ *Ed. partim* I. Andorlini, "Trattato o catechismo? La tecnica della flebotomia in PSI inv. CNR 85/86," in I. Andorlini (ed.), "Specimina" per il *Corpus dei papiri greci di medicina* (Firenze 1997) 153-168, esp. 163, n. 16.

²⁸ Cf. Andorlini's comments, 162-165.

Environnement et fisc dans le nome mendésien à l'époque romaine Réalités et enjeux de la diversification¹

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Abstract

La mise en culture, parfois sur une même parcelle, de différentes espèces végétales, la combinaison de l'agriculture et de l'élevage, l'adaptation des espèces cultivées à la mouillure du sol, l'exploitation des ressources alimentaires sauvages disponibles et la diversification des modes de propriété et d'exploitation foncière constituaient pour les contribuables égyptiens autant de moyens de minimiser leur vulnérabilité aux aléas de leur milieu. C'est ce que révèle notamment la documentation fiscale et cadastrale relative au nome mendésien, une circonscription administrative située dans le nord-est du delta.

Introduction

La diversification est une stratégie de gestion du risque alimentaire permettant aux sociétés de minimiser leur vulnérabilité aux aléas du milieu dans lequel elles vivent.² La mise en culture, parfois sur une même parcelle, de plusieurs espèces végétales, la combinaison de l'agriculture et de l'élevage, l'adaptation des cultures à la mouillure du sol et l'exploitation des ressources

¹ Je tiens à adresser mes plus sincères remerciements à R.S. Bagnall et aux lecteurs anonymes du manuscrit de cet article pour leurs commentaires constructifs et avisés.

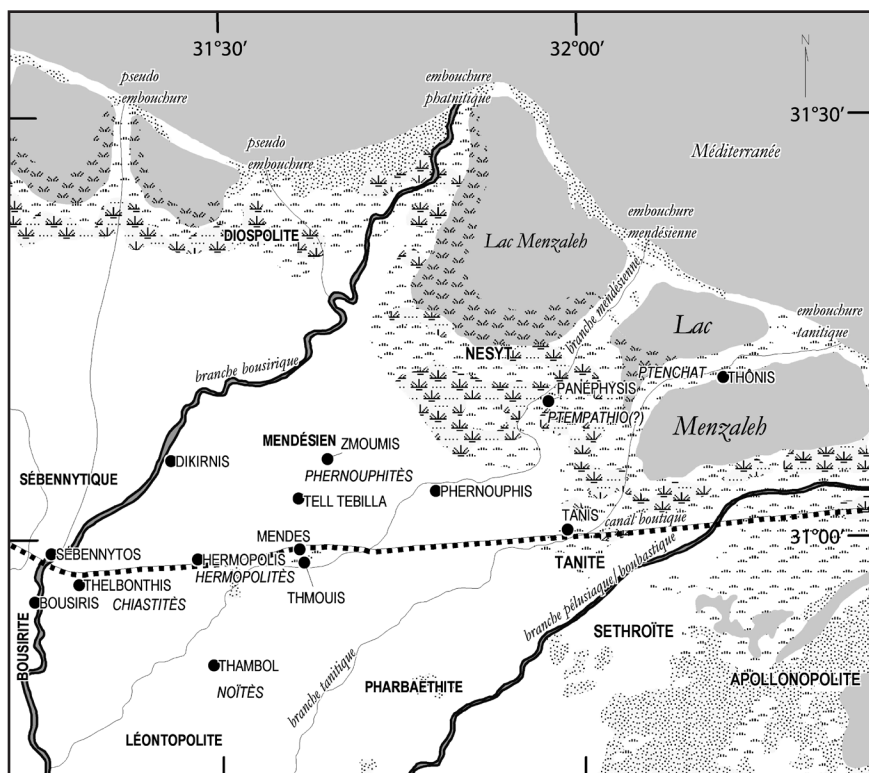
² Le risque alimentaire correspond au produit de l'offre alimentaire (l'aléa) et de la demande en nourriture (la vulnérabilité). L'offre alimentaire dépend des facteurs environnementaux et humains qui influencent les productions agricoles locales ainsi que de la mise en disponibilité des surplus par les groupes d'intérêt qui en disposent. Ainsi, de nombreuses disettes antiques résultèrent non pas de piètres récoltes, mais plutôt de pratiques spéculatives sur les denrées alimentaires essentielles telles les céréales. Il existe trois principales stratégies de gestion du risque alimentaire: la diversification, l'entreposage et la redistribution (transport des biens et mobilité des personnes): P. Garnsey, *Famine et approvisionnement dans le monde gréco-romain* (Paris 1996 [1988]); P. Horden et N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Malden 2000) 178-182.

alimentaires sauvages (animaux, végétaux, sel, eau) sont autant de formes de diversification qui, depuis l'Antiquité, sont pratiquées partout sur la planète. Elles constituent une protection contre les pénuries résultant de causes environnementales, d'épidémies végétales ou animales ainsi que de phénomènes sporadiques tels que les invasions d'insectes. Elles diminuent également la vulnérabilité des consommateurs aux baisses de la disponibilité alimentaire attribuables à l'homme (mutation des écosystèmes locaux, défaillance de certaines installations, disette spéculative, tensions sociales). En ne mettant pas tous leurs œufs dans le même panier, les producteurs profitent donc au maximum des ressources offertes par leur milieu et, en cas de crise, ils augmentent leurs chances de survie. La diversification n'est cependant pas une stratégie purement préventive. En effet, elle correspond aussi à un véritable "rationalisme économique" résultant de dynamiques complexes entre environnement locaux, exploitants et instances administratives. C'est ce que révèlent notamment les sources relatives à l'Égypte romaine.

Outre l'ouvrage général publié par M. Schnebel en 1925, les travaux de D. Rathbone sur le domaine fayoumique d'Appianus et ceux de J. Rowlandson sur le nome oxyrhynchte ont abordé cette question à une échelle régionale.³ Leurs recherches ont montré que la production alimentaire dans ces secteurs était caractérisée par une prépondérance quantitative des terres à blé, auxquelles s'ajoutait une variété de productions: autres céréales, légumineuses, vigne, olivier, vergers, légumes, fourrage, volaille, bétail, gibier, poisson, etc. L'importance relative accordée à chacune de ces activités variait en fonction des contextes environnementaux et socio-économiques et semble avoir été motivée selon les cas par la recherche de subsistance, la volonté d'autarcie et la réalisation de profits.⁴ Si les stratégies de production alimentaire qui prévalaient dans la vallée du Nil et les oasis sont relativement bien connues, quelle était la situation dans le delta? Cette question est d'autant plus pertinente que le delta représentait déjà dans l'Antiquité la plus vaste zone arable d'Égypte. La documentation fiscale et cadastrale relative au nome mendésien, une circonscription administrative située dans le nord-est du delta, constitue un échantillon documentaire de choix susceptible de nous aider à formuler une réponse.

³ M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten* (München 1925); D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991); J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996). Mentionnons aussi, à propos des oasis, les travaux sur Douch et Kellis: B. Bousquet, *Tell-Douch et sa région* (Le Caire 1996); R.S. Bagnall (éd.), *The Kellis Agricultural Book* (Oxford 1997).

⁴ Rathbone (n. 3) 212-264; Rowlandson (n. 3) 19-26.



Legende: **NOME**, *TOPARCHIE*, VILLE

Carte 1: Le nome ménéésien sous le Principat romain, d'après R. Talbert et al., Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World (Princeton 2000).

Pendant la plus grande partie de l'Antiquité, le nome mendésien fut traversé par la branche mendésienne du Nil. Cette région était aussi riche en milieux humides et dotée d'un accès à la Méditerranée. Mendès et Thmouis (carte 1), les capitales successives de cette circonscription, s'imposèrent dès l'époque pharaonique comme d'importants centres commerciaux dans les réseaux de communication deltaïques, égyptiens et proche-orientaux.⁵ Le nome mendésien est également l'une des rares régions du delta documentée par un corpus pa-

⁵ Voir K. Blouin, "Homme et milieu dans le nome mendésien à l'époque romaine (1^{er} au 6^e s.)" (thèse de doctorat, Québec et Nice 2007) et K. Blouin, "De Mendès à Thmouis (delta du Nil, Égypte): hydrologie mobile, société mobile?," in E. Hermon (éd.), *L'eau comme patrimoine – de la Méditerranée à l'Amérique du Nord* (Québec 2008) 107-128.

pyrologique d'importance.⁶ Cette documentation essentiellement fiscale et cadastrale est une mine d'informations exceptionnelle grâce à laquelle nous pouvons cerner les principaux modes de production alimentaire en vigueur dans ce secteur à l'époque romaine. Elle nous permet aussi d'entrevoir ce que les stratégies privilégiées par l'administration romaine et par les contribuables avaient de convergent et de divergent.

1. Diversification et fisc dans le nome mendésien à l'époque romaine

Au total, plus de cent taxes ou redevances – le plus souvent en espèces, mais aussi en nature⁷ – sont attestées dans les papyrus relatifs au nome mendésien. Ces entrées proviennent principalement des archives carbonisées de Thmouis⁸ et datent surtout de la seconde moitié du 2^e siècle de notre ère.

L'annexe recense toutes les taxes relatives à des activités de production alimentaire. Chaque taxe y est classée en fonction du département et du sous-département du fisc auquel elle appartenait. L'ordre de ces départements et sous-départements est celui généralement adopté dans les deux principaux documents fiscaux mendésiens qui nous sont parvenus. Il s'agit du *P.Ryl.* 2.213, un registre fiscal daté de la fin du 2^e siècle portant quasi exclusivement sur des taxes en argent, ainsi que du *P.Thmouis* 1.68-160, un registre d'arriérés d'impôts rédigé en 170/1 de notre ère par le basilicogrammate du nome mendésien. À l'intérieur de chaque section "sous-départementale," les taxes apparaissent en ordre alphabétique grec. Les noms des départements, sous-départements et taxes sont tous écrits en grec et l'entrée est accompagnée de la référence aux sources mendésiennes dans lesquelles la taxe est mentionnée. Lorsque l'information est disponible, la nature de la taxe, l'objet de la taxation, le type de taxe (en nature ou en espèces) et le taux de perception sont indiqués. Les données ont aussi été classées en fonction de l'activité et auxquels elles sont associées (tableau 1) ainsi que de leur répartition géographique (tableaux 2 et 3).

⁶ Le sous-sol humide du delta a considérablement nui à la conservation des papyrus dans cette région, si bien qu'outre les archives carbonisées retrouvées à Thmouis, le seul autre important ensemble de documents originaire du delta à ce jour édité correspond aux papyrus carbonisés de Boubastis (*P.Bub.* 1 et 2). Des papyrus encore inédits ont aussi été trouvés à Tanis par Petrie. Autrement, plusieurs papyrus trouvés ailleurs en Égypte portent de manière plus ou moins explicite sur le delta. Pensons notamment aux archives de Zénon et à celles de Théophanes.

⁷ Voir Blouin, "Homme et milieu" (n. 5) annexe 5.

⁸ À propos de ces archives: S. Kambitsis, *Le papyrus Thmouis 1, colonnes 68-160* (Paris 1985) et Blouin, "Homme et milieu" (n. 5) annexe 2.

Il faut cependant reconnaître le caractère incomplet des sources disponibles. En effet, les archives carbonisées de Thmouis – d'où provient la grande majorité des entrées – portent essentiellement sur une catégorie spécifique de parcelles: sèches dans le cas du *P.Thmouis* 1; vignobles, vergers et terres maraîchères dans le cas du *P.Ryl.* 2.216. De plus, les différentes toparchies du nome y sont très inégalement représentées, ce qui occasionne un portrait géographiquement incomplet de la réalité agraire mendésienne. Ainsi certaines activités (pensons à l'élevage) étaient certainement beaucoup plus répandues que ne le laissent croire les tableaux 2 et 3.

Tableau 1: La diversification dans le nome mendésien sous le Principat

Activité	Taxe ou redevance (<i>source dans le cas des attestations non fiscales ou générales</i>)
Culture céréalière (blé et orge)	ἀλλαγή, εἰκοστή, εἰκοστή (λιμνιτικά), ἡμιαρταβίας ποδώματος, [κοσ]κινίας ἀλώνων, []ν κοσκινίας ἀλώνων, ναύβιον, παράναυλον, πελωχικόν, χωματικόν <i>BGU</i> 3.976-980
Culture des fèves	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 44.3205 (voir ci-dessous, tableau 4)
Culture des lentilles	τέλος φακοῦ ἐρεΐξεως
Viticulture	ἀλλαγή, ἀπόμοιρα, ἀπόμοιρα (λιμνιτικά), β (τριώβ.) Ἀλεξανδρέων, γεωμετρία, ~δεκάδραχμος, ἐξάδραχμος Φιλαδέλφου, ἐπαρούριον, ἐπαρούριον (λιμνιτικά), ναύβιον, ναύβιον (λιμνιτικά), οἴνου τέλος, ὀκτάδραχμος, τέλεσμα ἀμπέλου, τρίδραχμος/τρίδραχμος μητροπολιτῶν, τρίδραχμος (λιμνιτικά), φόρος ἀμπέλου, φόρος ἀμπέλου (λιμνιτικά)

Activité	Taxe ou redevance (<i>source dans le cas des attestations non fiscales ou générales</i>)
Culture des fruits et légumes	ἀπόμοιρα, ἀπόμοιρα (λιμνιτικά), β (τριώβ.) Ἀλεξανδρέων, γεωμετρία, ~δεκάδραχμος, ἐπαούριον, ἐπαούριον (λιμνιτικά), ~πεντάδραχμος, τρίδραχμος/ τρίδραχμος μητροπολιτών, τρίδραχμος (λιμνιτικά)
Culture de l'olivier	ἐλαϊκή, τέλος ἐλαιουργικῶν/ τέλεσμα τῶν ὀργανῶν
Culture du lin	μερισμός ἐνδεήματος ὀθονηρᾶς/ ὀθονηρά, τιμή λινοκαλάμης
Culture du ricin	κικιουργικός ὀργάνου
Culture du roseau	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 44.3205
Élevage du bétail (général)	δερματηρὰ νομοῦ, τιμὴ θρεμμάτων, (φόρος) νομῶν καὶ ἄλλων, [ζ]ῶων, [.] ποιμένων
Élevage porcin	ὕικὴ
Élevage caprin (chèvres et moutons)	ἐννομίον, ὑποκείμενον ἐννομίου, [] ἢ προβάτων, φόρος προβάτων
Élevage des chèvres (contexte sacré)	λύτρωσις αἰγῶν
Élevage des veaux (contexte sacré)	μόςχου τέλος
Élevage des ânes	(ἐξαδραχμία) ὄνων
Élevage de la volaille (général)	τοκαδεῖα, ὑποκείμενον τοκαδεῖας, ὑποκείμενον καὶ κηρυκικὸν τοκαδεῖας
Élevage des oies et des poules	τοκαδεῖα χ[ηνῶ]ν καὶ ὀρνείθων
Élevage des pigeons	τρίτῃ περιστερεῶνων
Chasse et pêche	Θωνεϊτικά καὶ λιμνιτικά, φόροι (λιμνιτικά), χειρωνάξιον ἀμφιβολέων

Les sources ne nous informent également pas sur l'organisation du travail à l'intérieur des villages ni sur des pratiques telles que la cueillette,⁹ la jachère, la rotation des cultures et les cultures intercalaires. Enfin, certaines activités attestées au 3^e siècle avant notre ère ne figurent pas dans la documentation romaine: cueillette et culture du papyrus et du lotus – pourtant étroitement associées aux milieux humides du nord du delta – de même que culture du sésame et des fleurs.¹⁰ Leur absence des sources pourrait résulter du caractère inévitablement lacunaire de la documentation.¹¹ Une publication des fragments inédits du *P.Thmouis* 1 conservés pour l'essentiel à Florence contribuera certainement à améliorer la représentativité de ces données et à combler certaines lacunes. En attendant, la richesse de la terminologie fiscale à ce jour disponible nous permet d'identifier les principales activités de production alimentaire pratiquées dans le nome.

Le terroir mendésien était essentiellement consacré à la culture du blé. Celle-ci est à ce jour attestée dans probablement douze des quinze, peut-être seize toparchies connues du nome (tableau 2). La culture du blé était même pratiquée dans les toparchies les plus septentrionales (Ptempathiô, Ptenchat: carte 1) sur des lots originellement humides dits "limnitiques." Or, le blé tolérant

⁹ Voir Hérodote, *Hist.* 2.2.92. À propos de la marginalisation progressive des plantes de ramassage dans le monde gréco-romain d'après les sources littéraires grecques et romaines, voir S. Amigues, "Les plantes associées aux dieux égyptiens dans la littérature gréco-latine," in S. H. Aufrère (éd.), *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'Univers végétal. Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, vol. 2 (Montpellier 2004). Ces données littéraires mériteraient cependant d'être confrontées avec les données archéologiques et polliniques. À cet effet, U. Thanheiser, "Plant-Food at Tell Ibrahim Awad: Preliminary Report," in E.C.M. van den Brink (éd.), *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th.-3rd. Millennium B.C.* (Tel Aviv 1992) 119, souligne comment la cueillette de plantes joue un important rôle même dans les systèmes économiques basés sur l'agriculture, où elles sont notamment utilisées comme aliments, médicaments, teintures ou matières textiles. Cf. aussi W. Smith, *Archaeobotanical Investigations of Agriculture at Late Antique Lom el-Nana (Tell el-Amarna)* (Londres 2003) 58, qui révèle comment une proportion substantielle des restes botaniques trouvés sur le site du monastère tardif de Kom el-Nana (Tell el-Amarna) est constituée d'herbes et de plantes sauvages.

¹⁰ Les données proléaïques proviennent des archives de Zénon et du *P.Rev.Laws: P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59470 (papyrus); *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59292.661-662 et *P.Lond.* 7.1995.180 (lotus); *P.Lond.* 7.1995.183 et *P.Rev. Laws* 62.17 (sésame); *P.Lond.* 7.1995.182 (pavot). Voir aussi *P.Lond.* 7.1995.181 et *P.Rev.Laws* 62.22 (ricin). Les archives de Zénon attestent l'exportation de ces denrées ainsi que de semences de lin depuis Mendès jusque dans le nome arsinoïte.

¹¹ Dans le cas de la culture du sésame, il est aussi fort probable que sa culture ait été considérée comme activité maraîchère. Je remercie le lecteur anonyme du manuscrit ayant porté ce point à mon attention.

mal les sols trop humides, il faut supposer que ces parcelles furent l'objet soit d'un drainage, soit d'un assèchement géomorphologiquement induit, soit des deux.¹² Cette prééminence des terres à blé est conforme aux autres données égyptiennes.¹³ Elle trouve sa justification dans le rôle central joué par le blé égyptien non seulement dans l'alimentation des habitants de la province, mais aussi dans celle des habitants de Rome et de plusieurs villes de la Méditerranée orientale.¹⁴

La culture de l'orge, des fèves et des lentilles est aussi attestée. En plus des taxes générales portant sur les terres consacrées à la céréaliculture (blé et orge), les papyrus BGU 3.976-980 (2^e siècle) recensent des arriérés de taxes et de redevances en artabes de blé (πυροῦ), d'orge (κριθῆς)¹⁵ ou de fèves (φακῆς).¹⁶ Certains de ces documents font aussi état de la culture de l'orge sur des terres ousiaques.¹⁷ À cet effet, le *P.Thmouis* 1 révèle l'existence de terres publiques consacrées à la culture de l'orge dans une localité dont le nom est perdu. L'auteur du rapport utilise à cette occasion l'expression ἡ κριθοσπορουμένη γῆ, "la terreensemencée d'orge," pour désigner la terreensemencée par les fermiers publics (δημόσιοι γεωργοί).¹⁸ En Égypte, l'orge servait à l'alimentation du bétail et, de manière moindre, des hommes. Elle semble avoir été considérablement moins cultivée que le blé, dont elle valait habituellement la moitié moins.¹⁹ Cependant, contrairement au blé, dont la culture nécessite des sols idéalement limoneux, argilo-calcaires ou volcaniques et qui requiert un apport bien réparti de 600 à 1500 mm d'eau par an, l'orge, qui a besoin d'un apport annuel en eau de 500 mm, est une graminée plus résistante à la sécheresse et tolérante à la salinité. Il s'agissait donc pour les paysans égyptiens d'une céréale qui pouvait offrir un rendement supérieur à celui du blé dans les sols à tendance sèche ou suivant une inondation médiocre.²⁰ Notons par ailleurs l'absence de

¹² K. Blouin, "Régionalisme fiscal dans l'Égypte romaine: le cas des terres limnitiques mendésiennes," *Proceedings of the Conference Regionalism and Globalism in Antiquity, Classical Association of the Canadian West, Vancouver, March 16-17th 2007* (Leuven sous presse)

¹³ Cf. R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 24-25; Rathbone (n. 3) 213-214; Rowlandson (n. 3) 19.

¹⁴ Cf. Blouin, "Homme et milieu" (n. 5) 148-201.

¹⁵ BGU 3.976.12; 977.7, 14; 978.4, 21, 22; 979.3, 7, 9, 16; 980.2, 7, 9, 12, 15, 17.

¹⁶ BGU 3.977.2.

¹⁷ BGU 3.976, 979, 980.

¹⁸ *P.Thmouis* 1.86.4 et n.

¹⁹ Voir Bagnall (n. 13) 25, qui estime la proportion de terre à céréales consacrée à la culture de l'orge à environ 20%; R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Atlanta 1985) 7; Rathbone (n. 3) 214; Rowlandson (n. 3) 20.

²⁰ L'orge pousse idéalement dans des sols calcaires sains, légers, frais et pas trop compacts. Le blé demande quant à lui des sols profonds, à structure grumeleuse, riches en

référence à l'olyra.²¹ Les références à la culture des fèves et des lentilles nous rappellent l'importance des légumineuses dans l'alimentation des habitants de la Méditerranée antique. Riches en protéines et en nutriments essentiels peu présents dans les céréales (acide amino-lysine, vitamine C, calcium), plus tolérantes à l'aridité que le blé²² et mobilisables sur de longues distances, elles constituaient un substitut à la viande, plus coûteuse et rare, et un complément aux céréales.²³

La culture des fruits et des légumes est connue par la mention de nombreuses taxes. La plupart d'entre elles étant générales, nous ne possédons pas de détails sur les espèces cultivées, hormis la vigne et l'olivier. La timidité des sources à ce sujet pourrait résulter du fait que, contrairement aux céréales, ces denrées étaient le plus souvent produites à petite échelle et destinées à la consommation domestique ou locale.²⁴ La production fruitière et maraîchère constituait malgré tout un investissement intéressant pour les cultivateurs qui pouvaient tirer des revenus appréciables de la vente des produits frais dans les marchés. Le lien étroit qui, dans l'Antiquité comme de nos jours, existe entre les périphéries rurales et les centres urbains explique la grande rentabilité de ces denrées. À cet effet, le *P.Ryl.* 2.427.19, fait état d'une somme relative

humus et en matières minérales dotés d'un pH frôlant la neutralité. Les sols consacrés à la culture du blé et de l'orge doivent par ailleurs être drainés rapidement après la phase d'irrigation car ces plantes supportent mal l'engorgement en eau. Ces deux céréales sont en outre caractérisées par un système racinaire, une tige et des feuilles semblables; voir notamment à cet effet D. Bonneau, "Les hommes et le Nil dans l'Antiquité," in A. De Réparaz (éd.), *L'eau et les hommes en Méditerranée* (Paris 1987) 189; A. Hayes, A. Verhallen, T. Taylor, "Cultures couvre-sol: L'orge," Ministère de l'Agriculture, de l'Alimentation et des Affaires rurales de l'Ontario, Canada (Toronto 2005), http://www.omafra.gov.on.ca/french/crops/facts/cover_crops01/barley.htm (11 août 2008); U. Thanheiser, "Plant Remains from Minshat Abu Omar: First Impressions," in E.C.M. van den Brink (éd.), *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th.-3rd. Millennium B.C.* (Tel Aviv 1992) 167-170.

²¹ L'olyra est aussi absente de l'archive d'Héroninos et des sources oxyrhynchites: Rowlandson (n. 3) 20; Rathbone (n. 3) 214, n. 3, et 219. Voir aussi Bagnall (n. 13) 24; Schnebel (n. 3) 98-99.

²² Voir Bousquet (n. 3) 250.

²³ P. Garnsey, "The Bean: Substance and Symbol," in W. Scheidel (éd.), *Cities, Peasants and Food in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1998) 214-225. À propos des légumineuses comme quatrième composante d'une "tétrade méditerranéenne" comprenant aussi les céréales, le raisin et l'olive, voir P. Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1999) 12-21.

²⁴ Cf. à cet effet Bagnall (n. 13) 25-27; D.J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge 1971) 130-131; Garnsey (n. 2); Horden et Purcell (n. 2) 203; Rathbone (n. 3) 381; W. Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (Leiden 2001) 237; Thanheiser (n. 9) 118.

au πεντάδραχμος, une taxe foncière portant sur les exploitations viticoles et maraîchères, associée à un terrain situé sur le territoire d'une "Thmouis." Si la Thmouis en question est la métropole du nome et non le village du même nom situé dans le Néomarè, ce texte pourrait témoigner de liens alimentaires entre Thmouis et sa proche périphérie.

Il existait des exploitations viticoles dans au moins neuf toparchies du nome (tableau 2). En plus de la quinzaine de taxes et redevances connues, les *P.Ryl.* 2.213 et 217 recensent des paiements ou redevances en jarres de vin (κεράμια) dans les toparchies du Ptempathiô (carte 1), du Néomarè, du Thmoubastitès et du Phéopitès.²⁵ Dans l'Égypte romaine, les vignes étaient situées hors de l'atteinte des eaux de crue, donc sur des hauteurs moins bien adaptées à la culture céréalière. La viticulture nécessitait donc une irrigation artificielle et des soins considérables. Les efforts fournis étaient compensés par les profits pouvant être générés par cette activité essentiellement commerciale.²⁶

Tableau 2: Répartition géographique des informations fiscales relatives aux activités de production alimentaire attestées dans le nome mendésien

Activité	Toparchies (~ = probablement)	
Culture céréalière (blé et orge)	Έρμοπολίτης Θμοιβαστίτης ~Λυκοπολίτης Νεομαρη Νεομψονομουν Νειλο[]	Πτεγχατ Νωίτης Πτεμπαθιω Φερνουφίτης Χιαστίτης Ψανίτης
Culture des fèves	Φερνουφίτης	
Culture des lentilles	?	
Viticulture	Έρμοπολίτης Θμοιβαστίτης ~Λυκοπολίτης Νεομαρη Νεομψονομουν	Πτεγχατ Πτεμπαθιω ~Φεοπ[ίτης] Φερνουφίτης ~Χιαστίτης

²⁵ *P.Ryl.* 2.213, 204, 210, 215, 295, 300, 304; *P.Ryl.* 2.217.9, 19, 21, 69, 91, 111, 112.

²⁶ J.-P. Brun, *Archéologie du vin et de l'huile dans l'Empire romain* (Paris 2004) 144; de façon générale, à propos de la viticulture et de la production de vin dans l'Égypte romaine, voir 143-168. Voir aussi Rathbone (n. 3) 212-213, qui montre comment la vigne était le principal "cash crop" du domaine d'Appianus et Schnebel (n. 3) 239-292.

Activité	Toparchies (~ = <i>probablement</i>)	
Culture des fruits et légumes	Έρμπολίτης ~Λυκοπολίτης ~Νεομαρη ou métropole	Νεομψονομουν Πτεγχατ Πτεμπαθιω Φερνουφίτης
Culture de l'olivier	~Λυκοπολίτης Πτεμπαθιω	
Culture du lin	?	
Culture du ricin	?	
Culture du roseau	Φερνουφίτης	
Élevage du bétail (général)	Θμοιριβίτης ~Λυκοπολίτης Πτεμπαθιω Ψανίτης	
Élevage porcin	~Λυκοπολίτης Νεομψονομουν Πτεμπαθιω	
Élevage caprin (chèvres et moutons)	Νεομψονομουν Πτεμπαθιω Ψανίτης	
Élevage des chèvres (contexte sacré)	Θμοιριβίτης Πτεμπαθιω	
Élevage des veaux (contexte sacré)	Πτεμπαθιω	
Élevage des ânes	?	
Élevage de la volaille (général)	Θμοιριβίτης Λ[.]αν ~Λυκοπολίτης Νεομαρη Νεομψονομουν	Πτεγχατ Πτεμπαθιω Φερνουφίτης Χιαστίτης Ψανίτης
Élevage des oies et des poules	?	
Élevage des pigeons	Πτεμπαθιω	
Chasse et pêche	Νεομψονομουν Πτεγχατ Πτεμπαθιω	

Par ailleurs, comme les papyrus d'Égypte associent parfois la vigne à des arbres (fruitiers ou non) et font souvent mention de cultures intercalaires, il est envisageable que de tels procédés mixtes, qui sont autrement attestés en Égypte et dans le monde romain,²⁷ aient été en usage dans le nome mendésien. La mention d'un terrain planté d'arbres (δενδροφύτου) dans le fragment 29 du *P.Ryl.* 2.427, où il est question de vignobles, témoigne peut-être de cette réalité. Ces pratiques pourraient également expliquer pourquoi de nombreuses taxes et redevances en argent portaient à la fois sur les cultures maraîchères et sur les vignobles.

On note aussi l'existence de plantations d'olivier, de ricin et de lin.²⁸ Dans le cas de l'olivier, son fruit comestible produisait une huile aux usages aussi bien alimentaires que domestiques, thérapeutiques et gymnasiacaux. Le peu d'attestations de la culture de l'olivier pourrait s'expliquer par la relative marginalité de cette activité en Égypte. En effet, l'olivier croît sur des terrains bien drainés et ne tolère pas les sols inondables de la vallée et du delta du Nil. Sa culture en Égypte ne pouvait donc se faire que dans des secteurs situés au-delà du lit majeur d'inondation du fleuve.²⁹ Exception faite des agglomérations urbaines et villageoises, ces secteurs étaient peu nombreux dans le delta (exception faite des secteurs voisins des marges désertiques).

L'huile obtenue à partir des fruits du ricin (*ricinus communis*) était, en raison de sa haute toxicité, réservée à l'éclairage.³⁰ Nous pouvons déduire des taxes dites τέλος ἐλαιουργικῶν/τέλεσμα τῶν ὀργάνων (connues uniquement grâce aux papyrus mendésiens) et κικιουργικὸς ὀργάνου que des pressoirs à huile d'olive et de ricin étaient situés dans plusieurs localités appartenant à au moins deux toparchies du nome (tableau 2). En ce qui concerne le lin, sa culture – à des fins essentiellement textiles – demeura tout au long de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge un important secteur d'activité non alimentaire en Égypte et, de façon particulière, dans les zones humides du nord du delta.³¹

²⁷ Cf. Bousquet (n. 3); Brun (n. 26) 144; Rowlandson (n. 3) 19.

²⁸ À propos des différentes cultures oléicoles et des techniques de production d'huile en usage dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine, cf. Bagnall (n. 13) 29-31; Brun (n. 26) 169-184 (huile d'olive surtout); D.B. Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Atlanta 1989); Schnebel (n. 3) 197-203.

²⁹ Cf. Rathbone (n. 3) 244-247 et Rowlandson (n. 3) 24, qui soulignent la rareté des sources relatives à l'olivier à Théadelphie et dans l'Oxyrhynchite.

³⁰ À propos des divers noms donnés à cette plante et de ses usages en Égypte, cf. Plinie l'Ancien, *HN* 15.7.

³¹ K. Blouin, "La gestion patrimoniale de l'eau dans l'Égypte romaine: le cas des milieux humides mendésiens," *Revue d'histoire comparée de l'environnement*, http://www.chaire-rome.hst.ulaval.ca/revue_point_vue_blouin_katherine_gestion_patrimoniale_eau_egypte_romaine.html (Québec 2007).

D'après les très nombreuses occurrences des taxes dites *ύική, ἐννόμιον* et *τοκαδεία* (cette dernière taxe étant à ce jour uniquement attestée dans le nome mendésien), l'élevage consistait en une combinaison d'élevage de porcs,³² de moutons et de chèvres, ainsi que de volailles.³³ L'élevage de la volaille est attesté dans une dizaine de toparchies. L'élevage des pigeons était pratiqué au moins dans la toparchie septentrionale du Ptempathiô (carte 1). Les élevages porcin et caprin sont tous deux attestés dans trois toparchies, voire un peu plus si l'on inclut les taxes "générales" (tableau 2). La nature fragmentaire des sources commande cependant une fois de plus prudence et nuance. Il est en effet fort probable que l'élevage du bétail ait été communément pratiqué partout dans le nome, à tout le moins dans un cadre domestique.³⁴ Hormis le *μόςχου τέλος* (dont le but était vraisemblablement le financement des veaux destinés à être sacrifiés dans les temples) et, peut-être aussi, les taxes "générales," aucune taxe n'a trait à l'élevage bovin.³⁵ Les sources relatives aux bouviers (*βουκόλοι*) qui peuplaient le secteur de l'actuel lac Menzaleh (carte 1) tendent cependant à indiquer que cette activité était répandue dans les milieux humides du nome.³⁶ Enfin, nous possédons deux mentions relatives à une redevance sur les ânes (*ἐξαδραχμία ὄνων*), animaux qui étaient (et qui sont encore) largement utilisés en Égypte pour le transport des biens et des personnes.³⁷

La perception de plusieurs droits de pâturage révèle par ailleurs l'existence de terres publiques consacrées au pastoralisme. Ces aires correspondaient sans doute à des terrains arides, salins ou humides impropres à l'agriculture céréalière. Y cultivait-on le fourrage? Sans doute. Cette activité, qui était apparemment importante dans l'arsinoïte et l'oxyrhynchite, n'est autrement pas attestée dans la documentation mendésienne.³⁸

³² Considérant l'interdit alimentaire relatif à la consommation de porc en vigueur chez les Égyptiens (et aussi chez les Juifs), les taxes relatives à l'élevage porcin, qui furent introduites en Égypte à l'époque ptolémaïque, témoignent de la présence de populations grecques dans les secteurs concernés du nome; cf. Hérodote, *Hist.* 2.47; S. H. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 143-145.

³³ Cf. *P.Ryl.* 2.213, intro.; Wallace (n. 32).

³⁴ Cf. Rowlandson (n. 3) 22.

³⁵ Cf. à ce propos Wallace (n. 32) 242.

³⁶ K. Blouin, "La révolte des *Boukoloi* (delta du Nil, Égypte, ~166-172 de notre ère): regard socio-environnemental sur la violence," *Phoenix* (sous presse).

³⁷ Cf. Bagnall (n. 13) 38-39, et R.S. Bagnall, "The Camel, the Wagon, and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt," *BASP* 22 (1985) 1-6.

³⁸ Rathbone (n. 3) 214, croit que le foin était, après le blé et l'orge, la troisième espèce la plus cultivée sur le domaine d'Appianus à Théadelphie. Rowlandson (n. 3) 20-21, estime que dans l'Oxyrhynchite, le fourrage venait en deuxième position, juste derrière le blé.

En dépit des limites de la documentation, il est possible de conclure que l'économie rurale ménéssienne étaient caractérisée par une prééminence de la céréaliculture – essentiellement du blé – assortie de productions légumineuses, fruitières et maraîchères (incluant la viticulture et l'oléiculture) ainsi que d'élevage. La situation semble donc y avoir été généralement semblable à celle prévalant ailleurs en Égypte. Il faut cependant souligner l'importance particulière de certaines pratiques dans les vastes zones lacustres, palustres, lagunaires et côtières du nome. Il a déjà été question de la culture du lin et d'une possible (quoique non attestée) exploitation du papyrus. Il convient aussi de mentionner la chasse, la pêche et la pisciculture. Ces activités semblent avoir été répandues, voire prédominantes, dans certains secteurs des toparchies du Ptempathiô, du Ptenchat et du Phernouphitès (carte 1). Les archives carbonisées de Thmouis contiennent trois informations qui témoignent de leur pratique et de la volonté du fisc d'en tirer des revenus: des taxes dites $\Theta\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ καὶ λιμνιτικά et φόροι λιμνικῶν; des offres de location de terres immergées pour la chasse, la pêche et la pisciculture; la mention d'une communauté de pêcheurs à l'épervier ($\alpha\mu\phi\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) habitant le village de Zmoumis du Phernouphitès (carte 1).³⁹

Les taxes dites limnitiques (λιμνιτικά) portaient sur la terre du même nom (λιμνικὴ γῆ) et étaient gérées par un sous-département spécifique du fisc nommé λιμνιτικά. Comme leur nom l'indique, elles portaient sur des activités pratiquées dans des zones qui étaient originellement situées dans le secteur d'une λιμνὴ. Dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte, ce terme désigne une étendue d'eau perçue comme temporaire ou résultant du détournement partiel d'un fleuve.⁴⁰ Quant au terme $\Theta\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$, il peut être rapproché de $\Theta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\varsigma$, un village situé à l'extrême nord de la toparchie du Ptenchat (carte 1). Si les terres, les taxes et le sous-département limnitiques ne sont à ce jour attestés que dans le nome ménéssien, il est probable qu'ils aient existé dans d'autres secteurs du delta, à tout le moins dans sa partie nord. Quoiqu'il en soit, nous semblons avoir affaire à une catégorie agro-fiscale régionale qui, comme le *drymos* fayoumique,⁴¹ résulterait des spécificités environnementales de cette région.⁴²

Il convient à présent de se demander quelle part du terroir était consacrée à ces diverses activités de production alimentaire. Le *P.Oxy.* 44.3205 constitue à cet égard un échantillon de choix.

³⁹ *P.Thmouis* 1.82.10-91.12; 115.21-116.18 et n.

⁴⁰ D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 52-55.

⁴¹ Voir D. Bonneau, "Le *drymos* (δρυμός), marais du Fayoum, d'après la documentation papyrologique," *L'égyptologie en 1979*, vol. 1 (Paris 1982) 181-190.

⁴² Voir K. Blouin (n. 12).

Tableau 3: Classement par toparchie des activités de production alimentaire attestées dans le nome mendésien

Toparchie (* = localisée sur la carte 1)	Activités (~ = probablement)
Ἑρμοπολίτης = Ἑρμοπολείτης *	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Viticulture Culture des fruits et légumes
Θμοιβαστίτης	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Viticulture
Θμοιριβίτης	Élevage du bétail (général) Élevage des chèvres (contexte sacré) Élevage de la volaille (général)
Λ[...].αυ	Élevage de la volaille (général)
Λυκοπολίτης	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Viticulture Culture des fruits et légumes Oléiculture Élevage du bétail (général) Élevage porcin Élevage de la volaille (général)
Νεομαρη	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Viticulture ~ Culture des fruits et légumes Élevage de la volaille (général)
Νεομψονομουν	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Viticulture Culture des fruits et légumes Élevage porcin Élevage caprin (chèvres et moutons) Élevage de la volaille (général) Chasse et pêche
Νειλο[]	Culture céréalière (blé et orge)
Νωίτης*	Culture céréalière (blé et orge)

Toparchie (* = <i>localisée sur la carte 1</i>)	Activités (~ = <i>probablement</i>)
Πτεγχατ = Πτενχατ*	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Viticulture Culture des fruits et légumes Élevage de la volaille (général) Chasse et pêche
Πτεπαθιω*	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Viticulture Culture des fruits et légumes Oléiculture Élevage du bétail (général) Élevage porcin Élevage caprin (chèvres et moutons) Élevage des chèvres (contexte sacré) Élevage des veaux (contexte sacré) Élevage de la volaille (général) Élevage des pigeons Chasse et pêche
~ Φεοπ[ίτης]	Viticulture
Φερνουφίτης*	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Culture des fèves Viticulture Culture des fruits et légumes Culture du roseau Élevage de la volaille (général) Chasse et pêche
Χιαστίτης = Χειαστείτης = Χιαστοίτης*	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) ~Viticulture Élevage de la volaille (général)
Ψανίτης	Culture céréalière (blé et orge) Élevage du bétail (général) Élevage caprin (chèvres et moutons) Élevage de la volaille (général)
.. ε()	?

2. Entre diversification et spécialisation: le cas du P.Oxy. 44.3205

Le P.Oxy. 44.3205 est l'un des deux seuls papyrus connus portant sur l'état d'ensemencement des terres dans un secteur de l'Égypte au 4^e siècle de notre ère.⁴³ Il nous livre des informations précieuses sur le volet agraire des réformes fiscales instaurées en Égypte par Dioclétien. Il constitue aussi notre seule source d'information sur la typologie des terres en vigueur dans le nome mendésien au début du 4^e siècle.

Les informations contenues dans le registre furent probablement compilées dans la foulée du *census* général des terres agricoles de 297-301 de notre ère à partir des déclarations de terres effectuées sous la supervision du recenseur alors responsable du nome mendésien, un certain Philéas.⁴⁴ Comme les terres y sont classées en fonction de leur appartenance à une toparchie, nous pouvons déduire qu'il date d'avant 308, année de l'abolition des toparchies et de leur remplacement par les *pagi*. Le document peut donc être daté d'entre 297 et 308 de notre ère, voire plus probablement d'entre la fin du *census* en 301 et 308.⁴⁵

Le registre est constitué de deux sections. La première est un relevé de l'état d'ensemencement des terres de la toparchie du Phernouphitès (carte 1); la seconde est un relevé topographique des terres appartenant à un village de la même toparchie nommé Ψεν[]. Nous ne nous intéresserons ici qu'à la première section du relevé. Celle-ci recense le terroir agricole de la toparchie du Phernouphitès. Les terres consacrées à l'élevage, à la chasse et à la pêche n'y sont donc pas incluses. La conversion en mètres carrés⁴⁶ et en pourcentage des totaux en aroures donne les résultats compilés dans le tableau 4.

⁴³ À ce jour, nous ne disposons que d'un seul registre du même type contemporain du présent document. Il s'agit du P.Ryl. 4, 655, qui est malheureusement fort mutilé: A. Swiderek, "The Land-Register of the Φερνουφίτου Toparchy in the Mendesian Nome," *JJP* 17 (1971) 32.

⁴⁴ P.Oxy. 44.3205.3; cf. 31.

⁴⁵ P.Oxy. 44.3205.31-32. À propos des réformes fiscales et monétaires entreprises par Dioclétien, voir notamment J.-M. Carrié et A. Rousselle, *L'Empire romain en mutation: des Sévères à Constantin*, 192-337 (Paris 1999) 190-195 et 593-615.

⁴⁶ Les équivalences 1 aroure = 2 756,25 mètres carrés et 1 kilomètre carré = 362,81 aroures ont été utilisées. Les totaux ont été arrondis à l'unité près. Les données ont été compilées à partir de Swiderek (n. 43).

Tableau 4: L'agriculture dans la toparchie du Phernouphitès au tournant du 4^e siècle d'après le P.Oxy. 44.3205

État	Catégorie	Total ar. (réf.)	Total km ²	Total %
ἐνεργός	βασιλική γῆ (céréales)	3484 48/64 (13)	9,605	21,87%
	ιδιωτική γῆ (céréales)	7769 31/64 (28)	21,415	48,76%
	ἄμπελος φόριμος (vignes)	411 43/64 (29)	1,135	2,58%
	τάξις παραδείσων (vergers)	22 7/16 (36) +	0,062 +	0,14% +
	κυαμίων (légumineuses)	42 1/4 (38) =	0,116 =	0,26% =
	Total	64 11/16 (40)	0,178	0,40%
	χαρακίων (roseaux?)	60 1/16 (41)	0,165	0,38%
	Toutes	11790 43/64 (6-7)	32,498	74%
χέρσος ἀπο-γεγραμμένη	χέρσος ἀπο-γεγραμμένη =	1012 17/64 =	2,790 =	6,35% =
	χέρσος βασιλική +	60 [...] (46) +	0,717[...] +	1,63[...] % +
	χέρσος ιδιωτική (céréales)	750 [...] (47)	2,067[...]	4,71[...] %
	χερσάμπελος (vignes)	1858 41/64 (48)	5,123	11,66%
	χερσοπαράδεισοι (vergers)	78 3/32 (32)	0,215	0,49%
χερσο-παράδεισοι	Toutes	2949 (10)	8,128	18,5%
	χερσάμπελος (vignes)	513 [...] (57)	1,414[...]	3,22[...] %
	χερσοπαράδεισοι (vergers)	13 5/8 [...] (58)	0,038[...]	0,09[...] %
	χέρσος ἀλμυρίς καὶ ξυλίτις (terres ensablées et en broussailles)	666 51/64 (59)	1,838	4,19%
	Toutes	1194 19/64 (11)	3,292	7,5%
Tous		15933 31/32 (60-61)	43,918	100%

Considérant la propension des fonctionnaires à déclarer comme productives des parcelles qui ne l'étaient plus, il est fort probable que la superficie de terre déclarée fertile ait été en réalité inférieure aux chiffres officiels.⁴⁷ Le relevé nous donne néanmoins une idée générale de la configuration du terroir phernouphite. La conversion des informations cadastrales en pourcentages en fonction du type de culture permet de mieux saisir la prééminence de la culture céréalière. Le tableau 5 comprend les pourcentages relatifs à chaque production et les pourcentages totaux.

Si la terminologie agro-fiscale contenue dans les archives carbonisées de Thmouis est symptomatique de la prépondérance de la céréaliculture dans le nome au 2^e siècle, le *P.Oxy.* 44.3205 nous donne une idée plus précise de l'ampleur de ce phénomène au tournant du 4^e siècle. Ainsi, un peu plus de 75% des terres agricoles de la toparchie du Phernouphitès aurait été voué à la culture céréalière. La viticulture, les vergers, la culture des légumineuses et celle des roseaux auraient occupé environ un cinquième du terroir, le reste correspondant à des terres incultes ensablées et en broussailles. Les vergers étaient officiellement constitués à 81,28% de terres sèches et dans le cas des vignobles, ce pourcentage grimpeait à 85,21%. Ce phénomène découle probablement à la fois des contraintes associées à la culture de la vigne et de l'olivier (qui, nous l'avons vu, nécessitent des sols bien drainés) et de la priorité donnée à la céréaliculture sur les terres plus fertiles.

Tableau 5: Répartition quantitative des cultures dans la toparchie du Phernouphitès au tournant du 4^e siècle de notre ère

Type de culture	État de la terre	Catégorie de terre	Pourcentage relatif	Pourcentage total
Céréales	ἐνεργός	βασιλική γῆ	28,41%	21,87%
	ἐνεργός	ιδιωτική γῆ	63,34%	48,76%
	χέρσος	χέρσος	8,25%	6,35%
	ἀπογεγραμμένη	ἀπογεγραμμένη = χέρσος βασιλική + χέρσος ιδιωτική		
Total céréales			100%	76,98%
Vignobles	ἐνεργός	ἄμπελος φόριμος	14,78%	2,58%
	χέρσος	χερσάμπελος	66,78%	11,66%
	ἀπογεγραμμένη χερσοπαράδεισοι	χερσάμπελος	18,43[...]%	3,22[...]%

⁴⁷ Voir à cet effet P. van Minnen, "P. Oxy. LXVI 4257 and the Antonine Plague in the Fayyum," *ZPE* 135 (2001) 175-177.

Type de culture	État de la terre	Catégorie de terre	Pourcentage relatif	Pourcentage total
Total vignes			100%	17,46[...]%
Vergers	ἐνεργός	τάξις παραδείσων	18,31%	0,13%
	χέρσος	χερσοπαράδεισοι	69%	0,49%
	ἀπογεγραμμένη χερσοπαράδεισοι	χερσοπαράδεισοι	12,68[...]%	0,09[...]%
Total vergers			100%	0,71[...]%
Λέγumineuses	ἐνεργός	κυαμών	100%	0,27%
Total légumineuses			100%	0,27%
Roseaux	ἐνεργός	χαρακών	100%	0,38%
Total roseaux			100%	0,38%
Terres ensablées et en broussailles	χερσοπαράδεισος	χέρσος ἀλμυρὶς καὶ ξυλίτις	100%	4,19%
Total terres ensablées et en broussailles			100%	4,19%
Grand total			100%	99,99%

D'ailleurs, en ne tenant compte que de la terre labourable, la proportion de terres à céréales grimpe à 95,45%. Les vignobles, vergers et terres à légumineuses suivent loin derrière avec respectivement 3,49% et 0,55% (tableau 6). Malgré l'inexactitude des données officielles, les écarts sont tels qu'il ne peut pas y avoir d'équivoque.

Tableau 6: Répartition des terres labourables dans la toparchie du Phernouphitès au tournant du 4^e siècle de notre ère

Catégorie	Total aroures	Total pourcentage
βασίλικη γῆ (céréales)	3484 48/64 +	29,56% +
ιδιωτική γῆ (céréales)	7769 31/64 =	65,89% =
Total	11254 15/64	95,45%
ἄμπελος φόριμος (vignes)	411 43/64	3,49%
τάξις παραδείσων (vergers)	22 7/16 +	0,19% +
κυαμών (légumineuses)	42 1/4 =	0,36% =
Total	64 11/16	0,55%
χαρακών (roseaux?)	60 1/16	0,51%
Toutes	11790 43/64	100%

Ce phénomène résulte sans doute d'une combinaison de facteurs: nature des terroirs, avantages du blé pour la gestion du risque alimentaire, grande profitabilité de la revente spéculative des surplus céréaliers par l'État et les exploitants et, de façon particulière, pressions étatiques en faveur de la culture du blé. En effet, au moins dès le Principat, l'Égypte s'imposa avec l'Afrique comme la principale région pourvoyeuse de blé à Rome et à de nombreuses cités de la Méditerranée orientale.⁴⁸ À cet effet, plusieurs éléments contenus dans les papyrus mendésiens montrent comment le fisc romain tenta d'y maximiser l'extension et l'intensification des cultures céréalières: la prééminence du blé dans les données agraires et fiscales; le caractère prédéterminé et fixe de la vocation des parcelles; des mesures visant à favoriser ou à imposer l'exploitation de parcelles marginales, le plus souvent pour la culture du blé (ventes aux enchères, congés fiscaux, assignations à culture forcée); la mention de parcelles consacrées à la céréaliculture dans les zones les plus septentrionales – et donc les plus humides – du nome (notamment sur des lots limnitiques).⁴⁹ Hormis la catégorie spécifique des terres limnitiques, ces données sont conformes à ce que nous savons de la gestion agraire dans le Fayoum et la vallée du Nil. En outre, plusieurs procédures peuvent être rapprochées de celles découlant de l'application de la *Lex Manciana* et de la *Lex Hadriana de rudibus agris* aux domaines impériaux d'Afrique ainsi que des données préservées dans le cadastre B d'Orange: taux d'imposition réduit pour les terres irriguées, vente des terres en friche par l'État et congés fiscaux pour la mise en culture de ces parcelles.⁵⁰ La gestion du paysage mendésien résultait donc d'une conception pragmatique des terroirs qui ne s'appliquait pas qu'à l'Égypte.

La persistance de cultures non céréalières pour l'essentiel viticoles montre néanmoins le maintien d'une diversification agricole. La part très réduite du terroir consacrée à ces activités ne doit pas nous empêcher de considérer

⁴⁸ Pour une revue de cette question, voir Blouin, "Homme et milieu" (n. 5) 23-31.

⁴⁹ Blouin (n. 12).

⁵⁰ *Lex Manciana*: CIL 8.25902; 25943; 26416; 10570 (14464); 14428; 14451. *Lex Hadriana de rudibus agris*: CIL 8. 25943; 26416. Voir notamment à cet effet B.R. Hitchner, "Historical Text and Archaeological Context in Roman North Africa: The Albertini Tablets and Kasserine Survey," in D.B. Small (éd.), *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology* (Leiden 1995) 124-142; D.P. Kehoe, "Private and Imperial Management of Roman Estates in North Africa," *Law and History Review* 2 (1984) 241-263; R. Scholl et Ch. Schubert, "Lex Hadriana de rudibus agris und Lex Manciana," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 50 (2004) 79-84. À propos du cadastre B d'Orange, voir F. Favory, "L'évaluation des compétences agrologiques des sols dans l'agronomie latine au 1^{er} siècle après J.-C.: Columelle, Pline l'Ancien et le cadastre B d'Orange," in M. Clavel-Lévêque et E. Hermon (éd.), *Espaces intégrés et ressources naturelles dans l'Empire romain* (Besançon 2004) 95-118.

leur rôle dans l'alimentation des paysans et leur rentabilité en tant que "cash crops." Ce phénomène pourrait néanmoins être aussi symptomatique d'une concurrence entre les intérêts des détenteurs du pouvoir économique (État, grands propriétaires et marchands) et ceux des petits propriétaires et tenanciers, pour qui la diversification à des fins domestiques était avantageuse, voire essentielle.

Enfin, soulignons que toutes les terres à légumineuses sont dites ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ. Le terme πλεονασμός serait un synonyme d'ἐπιβολή, qui est employé dans les papyrus pour désigner les parcelles de terre publique attachées à des parcelles privées.⁵¹ Cette définition a depuis été affinée par H.C. Youtie. Selon lui, πλεονασμός désignait des terres anciennement improductives devenues cultivables à la suite d'une bonne crue du Nil (littéralement des terres "en plus").⁵² Dans le contexte du *P.Oxy.* 44.3205, la pratique exclusive de la culture des légumineuses sur ces terres résultait probablement du fait qu'elles n'étaient tout simplement pas adaptées à la céréaliculture. De la même façon, les fruits et légumes nécessitent un plus grand apport en eau que le blé, tandis que l'orge semble avoir été une culture de remplacement du blé dans le cas de sols plus secs.

Les activités de production alimentaire semblent donc avoir été pratiquées en fonction des spécificités environnementales, des contraintes fiscales et des dynamiques socio-économiques associées aux terroirs. Les paysans disposaient donc d'une étroite marge de manœuvre dans le choix de la vocation des parcelles à leur charge. Cette situation compromettait à l'occasion leur aptitude à accumuler des surplus agricoles. En témoigne la grave crise socio-économique qui sévit dans le nome mendésien au cours de la seconde moitié du 2^e siècle et que nous connaissons grâce aux archives carbonisées de Thmouis. L'équation fréquente – et constante à partir du 4^e siècle – entre la typologie agro-fiscale et le type de culture montre enfin comment le fisc continua à encadrer solidement les initiatives paysannes en matière de "choix" agricoles au cours de l'Antiquité Tardive.

⁵¹ D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil: incidences des irrégularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine* (Paris 1971) 187; Kambitsis (n. 8) 89, n. 12; Wallace (n. 32) 21. *Pléonasmos* ne figure cependant pas dans la liste des liturgies établies par N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (Florence 1997). À propos du terme *épibolè* cf. H. Cadell, "La γεωργία en Égypte: Genèse d'un thème économique et politique," in J. Bingen, G. Cambier et G. Nachtergaele (éd.), *Le monde grec: pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Bruxelles 1975) 639-645; A.C. Johnson, "The ἐπιβολή of land in Roman Egypt," *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 61-72; Rowlandson (n. 3) 89-90.

⁵² Cf. Swiderek (n. 43) 38.

Conclusion

L'examen de la documentation fiscale et cadastrale relative au nome mendésien permet l'identification et la compréhension des modes de diversification en cours dans ce secteur du delta à l'époque romaine. De manière générale, la vie rurale mendésienne semble avoir été similaire à celle qui prévalait dans l'Arsinoïte et l'Oxyrhynchite à la même époque. Administrativement balisée, la production agricole était largement orientée vers la production du blé nécessaire à la satisfaction des besoins frumentaires égyptiens et méditerranéens et à la génération de profits spéculatifs. La viticulture, l'oléiculture, la culture des légumineuses, fruits et légumes et l'élevage sont aussi attestés, quoique dans une proportion beaucoup plus réduite. Ces pratiques diversifiées résultaient vraisemblablement, comme il a été conclu à propos du Fayoum et de la vallée du Nil, d'une adaptation "opportuniste" aux spécificités environnementales locales destinée à la subsistance, à l'autarcie ou à une génération de profits. La chasse, la pêche, la pisciculture, le pastoralisme, la culture du lin et, possiblement aussi, celle du papyrus semblent avoir été plus intensivement pratiqués dans les vastes zones humides voisines du lac Menzaleh. En cela, la documentation mendésienne se distingue. Pourrions-nous parler à ce propos d'une spécificité mendésienne ou, plus généralement, nord-deltaïque? Peut-être, même si la présence de terres à blé "limnitiques" dans les zones les plus septentrionales du nome commande la prudence.

*Annexe: Fiscalité et production alimentaire dans le
nome mendésien à l'époque romaine⁵³*

*: taxe(s) attestée(s)	?: information non	ch.: chalque
uniquement ou	disponible	dr.: drachme
presqu'exclusivement dans	=: équivaut à	ob.: obole
le nome mendésien	ar.: aroure	ptol.: ptolémaïque
~: peut-être	art.: artabe	

1. Πρακτορία

Taxes collectées par les praktores des villages

Département: Διοίκησις

ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ				
διοίκησις				
Terres privées, certaines publiques, machinerie, profits et redevances pour le maintien de certaines fonctions et activités administratives				
Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
ἀλλαγή	Taxe foncière	Terres à blé privées et vignobles (sauf terres limnitiques)	Imposée sur le ναύβιον ou sur le total du ναύβιον et du χωματικών Taux usuel de 1/10	Voir ναύβιον
δερματηρὰ νομοῦ	Taxe sur l'élevage	Bétail	Imputation par mise aux enchères annuelle	<i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.99.16 ⁵⁴

⁵³ Sauf indication particulière, les informations relatives à la nature, à l'objet, au type et au taux des taxes recensées dans ce catalogue et en note proviennent des informations disponibles dans les sources concernées ainsi que de Wallace (n. 32). Les départements sont indiqués en majuscule sur fond gris, et les sous-départements en minuscule sur fond gris. Par ailleurs, dans la mesure où presque tous les toponymes sont d'origine égyptienne et comme les règles d'accentuation propres à l'égyptien demeurent mécon-
nues, nous avons préféré ne pas accentuer les toponymes d'origine égyptienne; cf. à cet effet W. Clarysse, "Greek Accents on Egyptian names," *ZPE* 119 (1997) 177-184, et le développement de M.R. Falivene en préambule de son catalogue des toponymes du nome hérakléopolite (*The Herakleopolite Nome: A Catalog of Toponyms* [Atlanta 1998] xv).

⁵⁴ Voir Kambitsis (n. 8) n. 99, 16.

Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
ἐλαϊκή	Taxe sur l'industrie de l'huile d'olive	Huile d'olive, oliviers ou oliveraies	En argent Taux incertain	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.30, 59, 74, 111, 132, 181, 201, 281, 353, 413, 479; 215.3 <i>PSI</i> 1.106.18
ἐξάδραχος Φιλαδέλφου*	~Taxe sur les vignobles	~Vignobles ⁵⁵	En argent 6 dr.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.354
ἐπαρούριον	Taxe foncière	Vignobles et terres à fruits et à légumes privées et publiques	En argent Taux fixe: 6 dr. 4 ob./ar + surtaxe de 1/16	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.113, 134, 284; 427 fr. 47.6 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.107.1; 112.1
[ζ]ώνων		~Lien avec animaux	En argent	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 col. 2.2
ἡμιαρταβίας ποδώματος	Charge (pénalité?) pour l'entreposage du grain	Terres à blé	En nature (blé)	<i>BGU</i> 3.977.10
[κοσ]κινίας ἀλώνων	Redevance	Utilisation des aires de battage de grains	En argent	~ <i>P.Stras.</i> 4.299.6
ναύβιον	Taxe foncière pour l'entretien du réseau de canaux et de digues	Terres à blé privés et vignobles (sauf terres limnitiques)	3 ob./ar. (terre privée) + χωματικόν + ἀλλαγή + surtaxe de 1/16 sur total	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.44, 75, 133, 175, 218, 257, 279, 313, 331, 411, 430, 481 <i>PSI</i> 1.106.10; 3.233.14 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1: ναύβιον 76.4; 106.21; 134.12; 154.21; 156.4, 7 ναύβιον + χωματικόν + ἀλλαγή cf. <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1, p. 34

⁵⁵ Peut-être à l'origine pour le culte d'Arsinoé Philadelphie.

Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
οἴνου τέλος ⁵⁶	Taxe foncière ⁵⁷	Vignobles ⁵⁸	8 dr./vignoble	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.204, 210, 215, 295, 300, 304
ὀκτάδραχμος	Taxe foncière	Vignobles (~ appartenant à des Égyptiens)	8 dr./vignoble + surtaxe de 1/16 (= 3 ob.) ⁵⁹	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.79, 138, 288, 448; 216, 51, 28, 163, 171, 179, 211, 249, 282, 302; 427 fr. 47.9 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.107.7; 112. 7
παράναυλον	~ Charge de transport	Terres à blé privées et publiques	En argent et en nature 2 ob. et 3-4 ch./art. + petite quantité de blé ~ 8 dr./art. + 5% en nature sur l'impôt foncier (= prix officiel de l'art. à cette époque)	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.47, 64, 81, 112, 179, 221, 262, 337, 416, 445 <i>PSI</i> 1.106.17 <i>PSI</i> 3.233.16 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1 (cf. l'index, p. 188)
τεμὴ θρεμμάτων	~ <i>Adæratio</i> (évaluation) de taxes habituellement payées en nature	Animaux appartenant à l'État	En argent	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.69, 220
τέλεσμα κικιουργικός ὀργάνου	Taxe sur les manufacturiers d'huile	Pressoirs à huile de ricin	En argent <i>P.Stras.</i> 4.299.4: 36 + [?] dr.	κικιουργικός ὀργάνου <i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.444 [τελέσ]ματος κικιουργικοῦ ὀργάνου ~ <i>P.Stras.</i> 4.299.4

⁵⁶ Cette taxe correspondait peut-être originellement à l'ὀκτάδραχμος σπονδὴ Διονύσου: *P.Ryl.* 2.216.128n.

⁵⁷ Peut-être à l'origine pour supporter les temples ou les prêtres.

⁵⁸ Ne semble pas s'appliquer aux terres qui relèvent des ἱερὰτικά (ces terres étaient peut-être exemptées).

⁵⁹ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 6.916, un édit du préfet Æmilius Rectus ordonnant le paiement de cette taxe au taux de 8 drachme par aroure (197/8); *P.Ryl.* 2.216.128n.; Wallace (n. 32) 65.

Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
τέλος ἐλαιουργικῶν ὀργάνων* et τέλεσμα τῶν ὀργάνων*	Taxe sur les manufacturiers d'huile (fait partie des taxes sur la terre)	Pressoirs à huile d'olive	60 dr.	τέλος ἐλαιουργικῶν ὀργάνων <i>PSI</i> 1.106, 14 τέλεσμα τῶν ὀργάνων <i>PSI</i> 3.232.21; 235.11
τρίτη περιστερώ— νων	Taxe sur l'élevage de pigeons ~ Frais de licence	Pigeonniers	Incertain (semble fixe) ⁶⁰	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213, 261
ὑποκείμενον ἐννομίου	Taxe pour la supervision et la surveillance des pâturages publics	Villages ⁶¹	En argent	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.72, 387, 442
ὑποκείμενον καὶ κηρυκικὸν τοκαδεΐας	Surtaxe pour l'enchère de la τοκαδεΐα*	τοκαδεΐα*	~1/90 de la somme due pour la τοκαδεΐα *	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.215.44, 51 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1: ὑποκείμενον καὶ κηρυκικὸν τοκαδεΐας 73.10; 123.16; 126.16 ὑποκείμενον καὶ κηρυκικὸν 72.1; 78.2; 79.7; 80.4; 100.17; 101.1, 6; 105.4; 115.8; 117.21; 121.11; 122.12; 125.19; 128.9 ἐκατοστῆς καὶ κηρυκικοῦ 154.7
ὑποκείμενον τοκαδεΐας	Taxe pour l'administration des taxes sur l'élevage de la volaille	Villages	En argent	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.73

⁶⁰ À l'époque ptolémaïque, cette taxe correspondait au tiers des profits tirés de la croissance annuelle de l'élevage de pigeons: *P.Ryl.* 2.213.261n.

⁶¹ *P.Ryl.* 2.213.9n.

Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
φόρος ἀμπέλου*	Rente foncière	Vignobles publics confisqués et/ ou impropres à la culture céréalière	60 1/3 ch./ ar. + ἀλλαγή à ~1/10; total en espèce + surtaxe de 1/16	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.115, 136, 152, 286, 446; 222.7, 12; 427 fr. 47.8 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.107.4; 112. 4
(φόρος) νομῶν καὶ ἄλλων	Rente foncière pour la location de pâturages publics	Pâturages publics Droit de pâturage restreint à un secteur du nome ⁶²	Imputation par mise aux enchères annuelle	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.110, 335 <i>PSI</i> 1.103.12 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.70.10; 100.4
χωματικόν	Taxe foncière	Terres à blé privées (sauf terres limnitiques)	2 ch. = 2 dr. cuivre/ar.	Cf. ναύβιον
Λιμνιτικά* Terres limnitiques				
ἀπόμοιρα	Voir ἱερατικά			<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.153
εἰκοστή	Voir ἱερατικά			<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213, 91, 123, 149, 226, 396
ἐπαρούριον	Voir διοίκησις			<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.151
Θωνειτικά καὶ λιμνιτικά*	Taxe ou groupe de taxes foncières	Terres limnitiques	En argent	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.156
ναύβιον	Voir διοίκησις			<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213, 87, 120, 145, 265, 340, 453
[]ν κοσκινίας ἀλώνων ⁶³	Redevance	Utilisation des aires de battage de grains	En argent	~ <i>P.Stras.</i> 4.299.12
τέλεσμα ἀμπέλου	Impôt foncier	Vignobles	En argent	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.154
τρίδραχμος	Voir ἱερατικά			<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.90, 150, 459
φόροι	Rentes pour la jouissance des droits de chasse et de pêche sur des terres limnitiques immergées	Terres limnitiques immergées	En argent	<i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.76.2; 91.1
φόρος ἀμπέλου	Cf. διοίκησις			<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.152

⁶² *P.Ryl.* 2.213.9n.

⁶³ Cf. Wallace (n. 32) à propos d'un frais semblable nommé κοσκινευτικόν.

Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
IEPATIKA Terres sacrées et activités leur étant associées (<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.215 fr. 2.11)				
ἀπόμοιρα	Taxe foncière	Vignobles et terres à fruits et à légumes	Terre privée: 20 dr./ar. Terre sacrée imposée: 40 dr./ar.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.100, 128, 165, 234, 373, 420, 464; 427 fr. 47.11 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.107, 8, 10; 112.10
εἰκοστή*	~Taxe foncière sur le transfert de propriété	Terres à blé privées ou publiques (sauf terres limnitiques) ⁶⁴	Taxe de 1/20 ⁶⁵ <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1: 1 dr./ar. + surtaxe de 1/16	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.97, 127, 189, 233, 244, 322, 345, 368, 370, 462 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1. (cf. l'index, p. 183)
λύτρωσις αἰγῶν*	~Redevance de rédemption ⁶⁶	Chèvres ⁶⁷	Faible	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.164, 247 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.122.16, 21
μόσχου τέλος	Redevance	Sacrifice des veaux ⁶⁸	1 dr. 1 ob. 1 ch. à 35 dr. 3 ob.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.38, 60, 99, 190, 245, 271, 371, 403, 421, 437, 465
[.....] ποιμένων*	Taxe liée aux bergers	?	31 dr. 5 ob. 2 ch.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.375
τιμὴ λινοκαλάμης*	Taxe sur les métiers?	Production de lin	En argent	~ <i>P.Stras.</i> 4.299.8
τρίδραχμος/τρίδραχμος μητροπολι— τῶν	Taxe foncière	Vignobles et terres à fruits et à légumes appartenant aux métropolitites	3 dr./ar. (= taux préférentiel consenti aux métropolitites)	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.98, 232, 246, 270, 323, 346, 372, 463; 216.25, 33, 49, 72, 80, 89, 104, 161, 169, 177, 196, 201, 209, 232, 286, 295, 299, 314, 317, 325

⁶⁴ Peut-être à l'origine une taxe dédiée au culte d'un dieu.

⁶⁵ Wallace (n. 32) 242.

⁶⁶ *P.Ryl.* 2.213.164n.

⁶⁷ Peut-être parce que les chèvres étaient sacrées ou en vertu d'un relâchement de la loi interdisant la consommation de viande de chèvre.

⁶⁸ Cf. le τέλος μόσχου θυομένου du nome arsinoïte.

Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
ΕΙΔΗ Taxes se rapportant au bétail				
ἐννόμιον	Redevance pour le droit de pâture sur toutes les terres publiques du nome ou d'une toparchie	Troupeaux de moutons et de chèvres ⁶⁹	En argent Montant par tête d'animall ⁷⁰	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 cols. 2.16; 3.15 <i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.9, 40, 55, 104, 169, 192, 236, 249, 275, 379, 407, 423, 467 <i>PSI</i> 1.106.2
(ἐξαδραχμία) ὄνων	Redevance	Ânes	6 dr./âne	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 cols. 2.15; 3.13
[] ἢ προβάτων	Taxe sur le bétail	Troupeaux de moutons et de chèvres	En argent ~ par tête de bétail	~ <i>P.Stras.</i> 4.299.13
μερισμός ἐνδεήματος ὀθονιηρᾶς/ὀθονιηρά	Taxe de capitation sur la fabrication du lin	Contribuables	En argent <i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.214: excédents perçus	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 cols. 2.11; 3.16 <i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.214.42-43, 63 ~ <i>P.Yale inv.</i> 446
[] ν κοσκινίας ἀλώνων ⁷¹	Redevance	Utilisation des aires de battage de grains	En argent	~ <i>P.Stras.</i> 4.299.12
πελωχικόν	Taxe sur le commerce	Moulins à farine	En argent	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 col. 2.22
τοκαδεία*	Redevance	Volaille	Faible + charges occasionnelles (= 3/5 du montant de la taxe) + surtaxe de 1/16 sur total + ὑποκείμενον καὶ κηρυκικὸν τοκαδείας (1/90) Affermée annuellement	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.53, 102, 167, 250, 273, 325, 377, 405, 469 <i>PSI</i> 1.106.4; 103.10 <i>P.Thmouis</i> 1: τοκαδεία ~30.22; 43.5; 45.3; 73.15; 74.2, 5; 79.5; 80.19, 22; 104.1, 3, 6; 124.11; 126.18; 154.6

⁶⁹ Peut-être à l'origine une licence annuelle payée par les propriétaires privés donnant le droit au pâturage.

⁷⁰ *P.Ryl.* 2.213.9n.

⁷¹ Voir Wallace (n. 32) à propos d'un frais semblable nommé κοσκινευτικόν.

Taxe	Nature	Objet	Type/Taux	Référence
				τοκαδεία...καὶ ἐξ ἐπικλασμοῦ 71.19, 21; 77.21; 80.1-2; 100.13-15; 103.1, 16; 105.2; 115.5; 117.18-19; 121.9; 122.9-10; 125.16; 128.6-7
τοκαδεία χ[ηνῶ]ν καὶ ὀρνείθων	Redevance	Oies et poules	En argent	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 col. 2.13
ὕικῃ	Redevance	Troupeaux de porcs	Semble varier de 1 dr. 4 ob. à 1 dr. 5 1/2 ob.	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 cols. 2.14; 3.14 <i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.213.10, 39, 54, 61, 103, 168, 193, 251, 274, 326, 378, 406, 424, 439, 468 <i>PSI</i> 1.106.3
γεωμετρία (gestion indépendante)	Taxe foncière	Vignobles et terres à fruits et à légumes	En argent	~ <i>P.Oxy.</i> 24.2414 col. 3.3, 20
ΟΥΣΙΑΚΑ Terres ousiaques				
φόρος προβάτων	Rente locative pour jouissance du bétail sur les terres ousiaques ou droit de pacage dans les pâturages des terres ousiaques	Troupeaux de moutons et de chèvres	6 dr./mouton (anciennes <i>ousiai</i> des phylakites) + supplément 5 dr. 3ob./chèvre (anciennes <i>ousiai</i> de Chrestus) + supplément	<i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.101.18; ~118.5

2. Département incertain

Taxe	Type	Objet	Taux	Référence/Lieu
β. τριώβ. Ἀλεξανδρέων*	Taxe foncière	Vignobles et terres à fruits et à légumes appartenant à des Alexandrins	2 dr. 3 ob./ar.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.216.69, 99, 319
δεκάδραχμος*	Taxe foncière	~Vignobles et terres à fruits et à légumes	10 dr./ar.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.216.203, 256, 304
μονόδραχμος	Taxe foncière	~Terres à fruits et à légumes ou terres en décompte vendues aux enchères par l'État	1 dr./ar.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.221.19; 427 frs. 14.10; 17-18.3; 431.2
πεντάδραχμος	Taxe foncière	~Vignobles et terres fruits et à légumes ~ Lien avec vente aux enchères	5 dr./ar.	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.427 frs. 14.6, 9; 19.8
τέλος φακοῦ ἐρεΐξεως*	Incertain	Broyage et meulage des lentilles	?	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 60.4060.45-46

The Case for 8,000,000 *Modii* in Justinian's *Edict* 13.8

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Abstract

The number of 8,000,000 in Justinian's *Edict* 13.8 has occasioned a considerable amount of discussion. Are these measures of wheat for the *annona* of Constantinople artabas or *modii*? The penalty clause in §§6 and 8 (κατὰ τριῶν ἀρταβῶν) has led some scholars to assume that the number of 8,000,000 must also refer to artabas. In this contribution, the focus is on Constantinople, the ultimate destination of the wheat, rather than on the penalties exacted in Egypt. Would Justinian have counted the City's *annona* in artabas or *modii*?

Justinian's thirteenth edict, dated to ca. 538/9, on the reorganization of Egypt and its administration, offers a tantalizing datum in §8: "the wheat shipment of good fortune of 8,000,000 (σιτοπομπίας εἰς ὀκτοκοσίας μυριάδας εὐτυχούς)." Eight million of what measure? The edict does not say, leaving it in the hands of historians to judge which of two possible measures is meant, the Egyptian artaba or the Latin *modius*. Schnebel, on the first page of his introduction to his *Landwirtschaft*, cites two opposing judgments on the issue: Mommsen (*Römische Geschichte* 5:560, n. 1) held that the appearance of κατὰ τριῶν ἀρταβῶν in the penalty clause in §6 indicated that the 8,000,000 were of that measure; Rostovtzeff (P-W, *RE* 7:136, s.v. *frumentum*) opted for *modii*.

It was Mommsen's view that was taken up by later historians. G. Rouillard (*L'Administration civile*, 124-126) attempted to demonstrate that the large amounts of taxed wheat in *P.Oxy.* 1.127 and *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67057 – by extrapolating the 80 Egyptian cities cited by George of Cyprus – would produce about 4,933,920 artabas or an excessive figure of 14,801,760 *modii*. Hence she believed that *Edict* 13.8 called for artabas. Johnson and West (*Byzantine Egypt*, 236) approached the problem cautiously, calling the 8 million "units, presumably artabae."

A.H.M. Jones (*LRE* 1:463; 2:1198, n. 126), attracted by the large number of artabas of taxed wheat in *P.Oxy.* 16.1907, 1909, and *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67057,

concluded that *Edict* 13 was concerned with artabas. In n. 126 he states that “the artaba is the unit used elsewhere in the edict,” i.e. the penalty clause (κατὰ τριῶν ἀρταβῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου νομίσματος) that was to be imposed on the responsible official if he failed to deliver the city’s *annona* or the due date.¹

A.J.B. Sirks, dealing with the size of the grain distributions in imperial Rome and Constantinople in *Athenaeum* 79 (1991) 225-237, refutes the positions taken by Rouillard and Jones and states (p. 230): “The crux of the problem lies in the interpretation of *canon urbis* and of the unit meant to be attached to the 8 million. These two appear to be interdependent. If one presumes that the *canon* was meant to feed the entire city, then the 8 million cannot but be artabas. Using *modii* would mean a supply of only one-third of the total amount needed, even if a low population is surmised. This is the position of Rouillard and Jones (who uses the same assumption for Rome). On the other hand, if one presumes that the *canon* provided only for distributions to a (relatively small) part of the urban population, then the 8 million must be *modii*, as artabas will result into too high a quantity.”²

The discussion of whether the bald number of 8 million in the edict was to be taken as *modii* or artabas comes to a full stop in *CAH* 14 (2000) 615, with the statement based on Jones’ n. 126, “... the collection of grain for Constantinople, eight million artabas a year according to *Edict* XIII ...” Jones’ n. 126, in my view, does not merit such a definitive statement.

Equally definitive is the position taken by C. Zuckerman in his treatment of the population of Constantinople before the plague who were the recipients of the wheat tax states “... à la veille de l’épidémie est le chiffre de 8,000,000 artabes du blé égyptien requises chaque année pour la capitale d’après l’*Edit* XIII (538).” He goes on to report two recent studies, citing modern parallels, to the effect that losses due to transportation and storage range from 25% to 30%, and when applied to the edict these losses would reduce the 8 million to 6 million available for food. To this he adds, using the figures published by J. Gascou, that the artaba used in the calculation of the *embole* was that of 3 3/11 *modii* of 27.5 lbs of wheat each, which would equal 90 lbs of about 329 grams or a total 29.25 kg of wheat per artab. For the *embole* this would total 20,181,818 *modii* or 234,000 tons, and 175,500 tons of consumable wheat.³

¹ See also A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London 1986) 46, who considers the 8 million “artabas” without reservation.

² See also A.J.B. Sirks, *Grain for Rome* (Amsterdam 1991) 212, n. 56.

³ *Du village à l’empire: autour de registre fiscal d’Aphroditô (525/526)* (Paris 2004) 194. This introductory paragraph to the discussion of the population of Constantinople before the plague and of the recipients of the tax wheat is so extraordinary that it requires comment. First of all, 538 as the date of *Edict* 13 is not a fixed date nor does the edict

Putting aside the penalty clause (see the appendix below) and the various estimates of the possible number of inhabitants of Constantinople entitled to receive the dole, or the number of public and private bakeries that could produce enough bread to fit that estimate, let us consider the grain measure that would normally be used by Roman emperors in their legislative enactments. That measure would be the *modius*, not the ἀρτάβη. Save for the appearance of ἀρτάβη in the above penalty clause, I do not believe that the Egyptian grain measure makes an appearance in the Theodosian *Code* or in Justinian's *Corpus Juris*. In other words, the artaba was an Egyptian measure, a local measure; the *modius*, on the contrary, was an imperial measure.⁴

This difference can be graphically illustrated with the citation of the Theodosian *Novel* 8 (April 7, 439), later incorporated into the Justinian *Code* as 1.2.10 = 11.4.2. The decree was directed toward the shipments for the *annona* of Constantinople “no ship beyond the capacity of two thousand *modii* can be exempted and withdrawn from service before the *embole* of good fortune (*ante felicem embolam*) or the conveyance of public supplies.”

In Egypt, by way of contrast, most shipments for the *annona* of Constantinople were delivered to Alexandria in river boats with “burdens” expressed in ἀρτάβαι, but, judging from *Novel* 8, they were loaded on board vessels whose capacities were determined by *modii*, not by ἀρτάβαι. The effect of *Novel* 8 was virtually to co-opt every sea-going vessel of almost any size into the imperial service for the *felix embola*. The captains and shipowners of these vessels, whose displacements were put in terms of the imperial measure, reckoned their “burdens” also in *modii*. Consequently, tax wheat that had been deposited at Alexandria in ἀρτάβαι had to be recalculated in terms of *modii* before being put on-board for shipment to Constantinople. And, importantly, the captain and/or shipowner was given a bill of lading which was expressed, not in ἀρτάβαι, but in *modii*.

speak of 8,000,000 “artabes.” The word “artabes” does not appear in the edict except where it is cited twice as a penalty. Much more disturbing is Zuckerman's citation of J. Gasco's view that there was a standard size artab for the *embole* that contained 90 lbs. of 329 grams each or 29.25 kg. The *artaba* as well as the *modius* is a measure of volume, not of weight. A standard measure of wheat can vary in weight from place to place and from year to year depending on a variety of circumstances. Finally, the conclusion to n. 199 states: “Le fait que l'édit parle d'artabes est pourtant reconnu dans tous les travaux récents cités ci-bas.” Does Zuckerman mean that no other interpretation is possible? In n. 202 he rules out A.J.B. Sirks's article in *Athenaeum* cited above.

⁴ See my article, P. Mayerson, “The *Modius* as a Grain Measure in Papyri from Egypt,” *BASP* 43 (2006) 101-102.

The *modius* measure also figured in the compensation which the captain or shipowner received for transporting the *felix embola* to Constantinople. *C.Th.* 13.5.7, dated to 334, and addressed to the shipmasters of the Orient, states: “According to the precedent established in the case of the Alexandrian fleet, (the shipmasters) shall obtain four percent of the grain in their cargo, and besides for each thousand (measures) they shall receive one *solidus*” (*Et ad exemplum Alexandrini stoli quaternas in frumento centesimas consequantur ac praeterea per singula milia singulos solidus*). There is no doubt that the intended measure in the phrase *per singula milia* was *modiorum*.

When the fleet of grain ships reached Tenedos or Constantinople, the receiving officials undoubtedly checked the number of *modii* in the bills of lading presented by the shipmasters against the number of *modii* that were off-loaded from their ships’ holds. These figures were duly noted and ultimately reached the hands of the Prefect of the Sacred Imperial Praetorians of the East. In other words, the information that the Prefect had in hand was the number of *modii* that were stored in granaries at Tenedos and Constantinople.

Let us now turn to *Edict* 13, addressed to John, the Prefect of the Sacred Imperial Praetorians of the East, who was in effect Justinian’s executive officer. In the introduction Justinian lays out his complaints concerning the current chaotic situation in Egypt regarding the corruption of local and imperial officials in the collection of taxes. In §1 he calls on John to carry out the details outlined in his decree, and in §§4-7 Justinian directs his attention on the details of the αἰσία ἐμβολή, “the auspicious tribute.” The *embole* was to be the first responsibility of the “honored augustal” of the two Egypts and his staff, to see to it that they provided for the *embole* and that it was shipped by the due date. But if he failed to raise the prescribed amount of grain and have it shipped to Alexandria for transshipment to Constantinople “before the end of August” (πρὸ πέρας τοῦ αὐγούστου), or the food (τροφίμου) for Alexandria “by September” (διὰ τοῦ σεπτεμβρίου), John, Justinian’s executive officer, would exact payment from the augustal, even if he were no longer in office, in the amount of “one *solidus* for each three artabas” that he had failed to deliver.⁵

Up to this point Justinian has ordered John, his knowledgeable factotum, to make administrative and staff changes with particular reference to the efficient delivery of the *embole* and the collection of transportation taxes (ναῦλα)

⁵ Similarly, in the reorganization of the Thebaid into two Thebaid under the supervision of a *dux* (§24), the latter and his staff were to load the full amount of the “*embole* of good fortune” that was meant for Constantinople onto river boats before August 9th and transport it to Alexandria before September 10th, where he would turn it over, along with money for its further shipment, to the augustal of the two Egypts or his appointed receivers.

designated for its shipment. This leads to §8 and to the details that his Prefect has informed him of, namely, that about 80,000 *solidi* for ναῦλον was collected at Alexandria and that a shipment of about 8,000,000 units of wheat was in hand. It should be noted that the two figures are not audited figures, but “approximate” (εἰς).

Turning to his executive officer, Justinian makes the following statement:

Well then, since your Excellency, who administers everything with exceptional care, had informed us that the amount of levied transportation charges that was collected and administered by an Alexandrian (official) is about 80,000 *solidi*, and that the shipment of wheat of good fortune comes to about 8,000,000 (units) . . . (Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ σὴ ὑπεροχὴ πάντα ἀγρύπνως διοικουμένη ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς, ὅσος συλλογίζεται τῶν ναύλων κανὼν ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων χορηγούμενος, εἰς νομισμάτων μυριάδας ὀκτώ, οἷα καὶ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς σιτοπομπίας εἰς ὀκτοκοσίας μυριάδας συνιούσης . . .)

Justinian goes on to say,

We wish to allocate these 80,000 *solidi* to the receiver of the transportation tax (due) from the subjects of the provinces, the cities, localities, and from individuals . . . with the objet that there be absolutely no delay or short-fall in the auspicious (grain) shipment. (... βουλούμεθα τὰς ὀκτὼ ταύτας μυριάδας τῶν νομισμάτων διδοσθαι τῷ τῶν ναύλων ἀποδέκτη ἔκ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ τόπων καὶ προσώπων . . . ὥστε μηδὲν παντελῶς μῆτε ἐξ ἀναβολῆς μῆτε ἐξ ἐλλείψεως τῆς αἰσίας σιτοπομπίας γενέσθαι.)

The 80,000 in *solidi* and the 8,000,000 – both figures are approximate – have attracted considerable attention, the 8,000,000 far more than the 80,000. I believe that Justinian himself was focused more on the 80,000 *solidi* than on the 8,000,000. By multiplying 80,000 by 100 – the metric of 1 to 100 – the emperor knew that he had enough money to have 8,000,000 measures of wheat shipped from Alexandria to Constantinople. He gave orders to the ἀποδέκτης at Alexandria to have it done promptly and efficiently. In other words, the availability of the 8,000,000 measures of wheat at Constantinople was determined by the availability of 80,000 *solidi* collected as *naula* by the ἀποδέκτης at Alexandria. If there were 100,000 *solidi* “in the bank” at Alexandria, Justinian would have been able to requisition 10,000,000 measures of wheat. In point of fact, the 8,000,000 measures of wheat cited in the edict were not even in the granaries of Tenedos or Constantinople, nor do we know whether upon delivery they

were ultimately intended for the *annona* of the City. What is also unclear is why §8 surfaced in an edict that was concerned with the political reorganization of Egypt.

For our purpose, interest should be given to the ratio of the two numbers (80,000 to 8,000,000). That relationship is one to 100 – one *solidus* to 100 *modii* as Sirks proposed.⁶ One *solidus* per 100 *modii*, or about 30 artabas, is a steep tax to pay for transportation, unless, of course, the cost of transportation had increased ten-fold since *C. Th.* 13.5.7 was enacted.⁷ However that may be, cargo aboard vessels with displacement (“burdens”) expressed in *modii*, require a *sine qua non* conversion of artabas into *modii*. Most of these conversions were undoubtedly performed at Alexandria prior to on-loading grain aboard the sea-going vessels.⁸ In some instances, we find tax payers submitting their con-

⁶ Sirks (n. 2) 212.

⁷ The difference between the two decrees is significant. In 334, barely four years after the foundation of Constantinople, Constantine issued in *C. Th.* 13.5.7 a list of privileges for *navicularii* and put shipping charges at a *solidus* per 1,000 measures (*modii*) of wheat plus 4% of the cargo. If, say, the cargo consisted of 8,000,000 measures (*modii*), the cost to the treasury would be only 8,000 *solidi* and 320,000 measures (*modii*), a very profitable arrangement for the ship owners and the treasury. This constitution was not carried over into Justinian’s *Code*, because Egyptian landowners were made to finance the transportation of their taxes in kind themselves. Justinian was informed by the prefect that 80,000 *solidi* were thus available as *naula*, enough for a shipment of 8,000,000 measures of wheat. The emperor directed him to use that money for a shipment of that size at a rate of one *solidus* per 100 measures – a stiff price, but at no cost to the imperial treasury.

In the sixth century freight rates from Oxyrhynchus to Alexandria, as noted by Johnson and West (*Byzantine Egypt*, 159), “seem to vary between 16-18 c. per 100 artabas.” They go on to cite *P.Oxy.* 1.142 (534); 6.1913 (ca. 535), 1912.120 (VI); 18.2195.130-131 (VI). The numbers of artabas in these accounts hardly exceed 2,000 in contrast with the large amounts in *P.Oxy.* 16.1906 (VI/VII) where some 79,000 and 110,000 art. were designated for shipment to Alexandria. Freight charges for 1906, on the basis of 16-18 c. or 2/3-3/4 *solidus* per 100 artabas must have been considerable. What I would like to suggest is that the naulage charge for delivery of artabas of tax wheat by river boat to Alexandria also financed a much longer voyage by sea of those same artabas to Constantinople but as *modii*. See also Johnson, *ESAR* 2:411, 414-415, 418.

⁸ See my treatment of *Cod. Theod.* 14.26.1 in P. Mayerson, “Κριθολογία and κριθολογηθῆναι,” *BASP* 41 (2004) 127-137 at 135-137: the decree confirms the authority and responsibilities of the Prefect and the office of the weigh-master regarding regulations concerning shipments of tax-grain to Alexandria. I take the words *aestimazione frumenti* to include “(the quality and quantity) of the grain” that is shipped to Alexandria. It would appear that the weigh-master and his staff were responsible for converting artabas into *modii*.

tribution to the *embole* in *modii* and indicating their equivalents in ἀρτάβαι. In sixth-century Aphrodito a single artaba had the value of three *modii*, making 9 *modii* the equivalent of 3 artabas.⁹

A later document, *P.Mich* 3.664 (585-600), fortunately provides the specific 100-*modii* unit used for shipments of wheat on vessels bound for Constantinople. *P.Mich* 664 is a contract originating in Aphrodito to transfer the ownership of a seventh share (ll. 13-14) in a measure of 100 *modii* for the auspicious *embole* (τοῦ σιτομετρικοῦ μοδίου τῆς αἰσίας ἐμβολῆς τῶν ἑκατὸν μοδίων σίτου ξεστῶ [μέτρῳ]). In order to meet the required unit of 100 *modii* per *solidus* for ships with burdens expressed in *modii*, those using this measure had to measure out units of 100 *modii* “*xysti*,” or, if tax payers of Aphrodito continued to use the 3-*modius* artaba, of adding to those artabas whose values fell short of 10 *modii*.

Finally, there is a piece of direct evidence from the eighth century that bears on the prominence of the *modius* measure in Constantinople. A publication entitled *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*¹⁰ provides, by way of an incidental note, that the term *modius* was transformed into a place name, the *Modium*, “The Granary.” The text tells us of a certain Manaim, the general who, for having defeated the Scythians, was honored with a statue “in the so-called Horreum, which some call the Modion” (ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ὁρείῳ ὃ τινες καλοῦσι Μοδίον). It goes on to say, “As for the Modion, we must not omit the fact that it was put up in the time of Valentinian [364-375]. For at that time an official measure (ἀρχιμόδιον) was established among the people of Constantinople.”

To sum up, the 80,000 *solidi* is a given, a fact, and bears a direct relationship with the 8,000,000 unstated measures. The number of people entitled to receive bread or rations based solely upon this unstated measure can only be considered an estimate, not a fact. It is made doubly so by taking it as the measure that applied only to Egypt, not to Constantinople. In light of these circumstances, and on the evidence of imperial decrees, I believe that the unstated measure concerning the 8,000,000 figure in §8 of *Edict* 13 should more rightly be considered *modii*.

⁹ Zuckerman (n. 3) 103-106, citing Aphrodito and earlier examples in which 3 artabas, or 3 1/3 artabas, were the equivalent of 10 *modii*, which demonstrates the different ratios of the artaba to the standard Roman *modius*.

¹⁰ Edited by A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden 1984) 72-73, 186-189.

Appendix: The Penalty Clause in Justinian's Edict 13.8 and CPR 14.1

CPR 14. 1 (651) is a notarized legal document sworn to by Aurelius Phoibammon, the μείζων of the village of Boubastos in the Arsinoite nome, to the pagarch of the city of Arsinoe, not only to collect the grain for the *embole* but also to deliver the required amount in full to the pagarch.

Failure to comply with the legal obligations to which Aurlius Phoibammon has sworn brings into play a penalty clause in which he states (ll. 15-18): "If I do not do this, or if any of them (*scil.* artabas?) be missing, I am obliged to pay you one gold *solidus* for every missing measure" (Εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπομείνη τι ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐνέχεσθαι \μξ/ παρασχεῖν αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ ἑκάσ(του) μέτρου ἀπομένοντος χρυσίου νομισμάτων ἓν).

The penalty clause appears to be modeled on the one that appears in §6 of *Edict* 13. If the Prefect fails to raise the prescribed amount of grain for the *embole* or to have it conveyed to Alexandria and transported to Constantinople before the end of August, payment for the shortfall would be exacted from the Prefect, or even his heirs, in the amount of "one *solidus* for each three artabas."

An interesting comparison between the two officials, the village μείζων and the Prefect, suggests itself. Whereas the Prefect is responsible for the Two Egypts, the μείζων is responsible for just one village. But the μείζων is threatened with a fine three times the size of that hovering over the Prefect. No doubt, the potential size of the fine for the Prefect was staggering, while that for the μείζων was limited. The μείζων therefore paid a higher, retail, "price;" as a bulk "customer," the Prefect got a sizeable "rebate."

Grain Yield Ratios in *P.Ness. 3.82* (VII)

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Abstract

Reconsideration of the (high) grain yield ratios in *P.Ness. 3.82*. The grain was likely a “maslin,” mixed with barley and other contaminants.

Of all the papyrological documents uncovered at the Byzantine site of Nessana in the southern Negev of Palestine, *P.Ness. 3.82* is most unusual. It is unusual in the sense that for its time and place, it is our only written record of precise amounts of wheat and barley planted and harvested, all expressed in terms of *modii*. Although we have many references to yield ratios of wheat and barley in literary sources, these range widely.¹ What is even more remarkable is the yield ratios recorded in *P.Ness. 3.82* have come from a region with a rainfall insufficient to produce meaningful crops of wheat and barley.

Excerpting that portion of *P.Ness. 3.82*, which records completed entries for the amount of grain (σῖτος) sown and harvested in the area of Birein (εἰς τὴν γῆν Βεράειν), we get the following yield ratios:

Place	Modii sown	Harvested	Yield ratio
Site 1	40	270	6.75
Site 2	40	288	7.20
Site 3	180	1225	6.80

For barley (κριθή), *P.Ness. 3.82* records the following:

Site 3	50	402	8.04
Site 4	40	350	8.75

¹ J.K. Evans in his well-documented article on “Wheat Production and its Social Consequences in the Roman World,” *CQ* 31 (1981) comments (p. 429) “few problems have seemed less capable of resolution, for the evidence with regard to wheat yield is at once meager and plainly contradictory.” He goes on to say (p. 430): “Such is the evidence (one can hardly call it statistical), and it may readily be apportioned into three divisions: the fourfold return adduced by Columella; the eight- to tenfold yields cited in Cicero and Varro; and the extraordinary returns of one hundredfold and more recorded by Varro and Pliny.”

In his comment on these figures of “sown” and “harvested,” the editor of *P.Ness.* 3.82, C.J. Kraemer, writes (p. 238): “The yield of barley (over 8 fold) and wheat (7 fold) is rather surprising. There is such a great difference between the growing conditions in Egypt and those of the semi-arid Negeb that comparisons seem futile, and yet the statistics here are not at all to the discredit of the latter.” He goes on to cite yields, taken from Tenney Frank’s *ESAR*, as follows: for Egypt, based on taxation records, 4 or 4.5 to 10 fold for wheat and 7 to 12 for barley; for Sicily, according to Cicero, 8 to 10 fold for wheat; for Italy, only 4 fold for wheat, which Columella attributed to carelessness; and for Palestine, “a five-fold harvest was considered normal” based on the single statement of a second-century Rabbi in Judea.

Kraemer concludes his commentary on *P.Ness.* 3.82 with a statement that, “It is a credit to the industry and skill of these farmers [of Nessana] with their endless terrace walls, dams, and other devices to keep the scanty moisture in the soil, that yields can be cited here which would do credit to cultivation of more favored regions ... For a description of the agricultural installations see Mayerson in *Nessana I*.”

In 1956-1957 this writer, with a Rockefeller grant-in-aid, spent the year in the Negev examining the agricultural organization and related hydrological installations associated with urban sites of ancient Nessana, Raheiba, Sobata, Eboda, Mampsis, and Elusa, all within a region that lacked sufficient rainfall to produce reliable crops of wheat and barley. I undertook this project after being struck by the figures given in *P.Ness.* 3.82 and by the fact that there were 96 citations of σίτου in 19 documents, most of which are dated to the late seventh century and three that are dated paleographically to VI/VII.² In all instances the editor has translated the word σίτου as “wheat,” understandably so since it appears contrasted with barley in *P.Ness.* 3.81 and 3.82. Until recently, I also had no hesitation in thinking of these two grains as anything other than wheat or barley; i.e., pure wheat or pure barley. However in light of my recent investigations of the meaning of σίτος/πυρός in the Egyptian papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, I have had some second thoughts; namely, that we are dealing with seeds and crops of a mixed character (wheat with barley and vice versa) known by the modern term of “maslins.”³

² On the physical character of the ancient site of Nessana and topics relating to the documents, see my treatment in “The Agricultural Regime of Nessana and the Central Nageb” in *Excavations at Nessana I*, ed. H. Dunscombe Colt (London 1962) 211-269. Topics include topography, soils, climate, water resources, agricultural evidence in the Colt (= Nessana) papyri, stone walls, tributary cultivation, main wadi cultivation, cisterns, stone heaps (*teleilat ‘el-anab*), and appendices.

³ See P. Mayerson, “Three Pharaonic Crops in Ptolemaic Egypt: ἄλυσρα (Emmer Wheat) and Maslins of κριθόπυρον and ὀλυρόκριθον,” *ZPE* 141 (2002) 210-213, P.

If my appraisal of the character of Egyptian grain is accurate, it is appropriate to review my earlier conclusions regarding *P.Ness.* 3.82, which seems to speak of pure wheat and pure barley being produced in Southern Palestine. This would also be true of Egyptian grain, particularly of its wheat, if the papyri did not make a distinction between “maslins” and pure wheat by the use of such modifying terms as καθαρός, ῥυπαρός, ἄκριθος, ἄβωλος, κεκοσκινευμένος in receipts and other bills concerning taxes in kind. Since the frontier population of Nessana, and that of its sister towns, before the Arab occupation of the Negev in the late seventh century, did not pay taxes in kind to the imperial government, the words σίτος and κριθή without modifying markers do not reveal their true quality. Similarly, when the Arabs occupied the Negev and the Arab governor of Gaza requested (in *P.Ness.* 3.60-67) an *x* amount of modii of wheat (σίτου) and equal numbers of *xestai* of oil (ἐλαίου), Nessana did so without specifying the quality of either product.

It has occurred to me that Egypt and the six towns in the Negev shared a common problem, insufficient direct rainfall to grow their crops. To do so, both would have had to rely on “indirect rainfall,” i.e., flood water. The source of Egypt’s water, the Nile, is over 6,600 km to the Kagera rivers system in Central Africa. Nessana and its sister towns, however, depended on rain unevenly distributed within each year, but also from year to year. Such rain as does fall usually comes in cloudbursts, during which a large share of monthly precipitation may fall in one day or even in a few hours. When these storms break on the upper ridges of the western watershed, the Ramon Cirque, large quantities of water are sent coursing – sometimes raging – down the wadis toward the high level plains and the coastal region.⁴ In order to maximize the use of this runoff the inhabitants had to check its pace and to allow it to spread over soil-beds, one after the other, within basin-like structures. These were not created with alluvial soil like those of Egypt, but with a variety of stone walls.⁵

Mayerson, “Κριθολογία and κριθολογηθῆναι,” *BASP* 41 (2004) 127-137, and especially P. Mayerson, “Σίτος/πυρός in Egypt as Deliberate Mixtures of Wheat and Barley,” *BASP* 42 (2005) 51-62.

⁴ See *Nessana* 1, Ch. V, “Water Resources,” pp. 221-225. On February 9, 1956, I was in the neighborhood of Birein when a heavy rainstorm broke at 3:00 p.m. and lasted no longer than 30 minutes. That evening, I checked the Wadi Hafir, which runs past the site of Nessana, and found it a raging torrent but contained within its broad watercourse.

⁵ *Nessana* 1, ch. VII “Stone Walls,” pp. 231-233; ch VIII, “Tributary-Wadi Cultivation,” pp. 233-241; ch IX “Main Wadi-Cultivation,” pp. 241-246. Pls. XL-XLII.

The Negev was not considered part of the biblical “land of milk and honey.” When the Israelites were about to cross the Jordan and enter the promised land, they were reminded by Moses (*Deut.* 11:10) that it “is not like the land of Egypt from which you have come, where, after sowing your seed, you regulate water by means of your foot

The above narrative, concerning agricultural installations and water resources does not necessarily prove that the wheat cited in *P.Ness.* 3.82 and other Nessana documents was pure or whether it was a “maslin,” a mixture of wheat and barley. The proof that we are dealing with “maslins” comes from a letter of a distinguished sophist and a resident of Gaza, Procopius (*ca.* 450-526), to Hieronymus, a fellow sophist and teacher and an inhabitant of Elusa, some 23 Roman miles north of Nessana. In several letters Procopius chides Hieronymus in a paternal way for his fascination with Egypt. In *ep.* 2 (p. 4, ll. 12-20) he writes to Hieronymus in Elusa expressing his surprise at finding him there and repeats his friend’s complaints about living conditions in his native town.

I had high hopes of seeing you again, and naturally I was happy that you appeared in your blessed native town for at least a short time. You seem to me jesting when you complain about your native town. I would not deny that the air overhead is just as you say it happens to be, and that those who drink of its water are reminded of the sea, and that our bread is indiscriminately mixed with barley (ἄρτος ἡμῖν ἐκ κριθῆς εἰκῇ μεμιγμένος).⁶

With Procopius’ letter we are now on a surer footing to conclude that the wheat sown and harvested in Wadi Birein of the Negev was a maslin, like that of Egypt, and that a percentage of it contained barley and other contaminants. In Egypt an allowance of about 10 percent was made in judging the amount of contaminants found in a measure of unrefined wheat. Applying that percentage to *P.Ness.* 3.82, the return of pure wheat from site 1 would be 6.07 fold; for site 2, 6.09; for site 3, 6.12. Despite the limitations imposed by the general aridity of the Negev, these results, which compare favorably with those of more favored regions, were produced by the careful harvesting of limited supplies of rain.

(i.e., creating a sluice to allow water to flow into a basin) as in a vegetable garden. But the land into which you are about to enter is a land of mountains and valleys watered by the rains of heaven.” The land to which the knowledgeable Deuteronomist was referring was not the semi-arid Negev whose name is derived from the Hebrew radical *ngb*, meaning “dry” or “dryness,” but the land to the north of the Beersheba basin where annual rainfall is above the 200-mm mark, and where, unlike Egypt, the farmer need only plow, sow his seed and (11:14) “await the early rain and the later rain and gather in his grain.”

⁶ *Ep.* 2 in A. Garzya and R.J. Loenertz (eds.), *Procopii Gazae Epistulae et Declamationes* (Ettal 1963) 4, l. 17. See P. Mayerson, “The City of Elusa in the Literary Sources of the Fourth-Sixth Century,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 33 (1983) 250-251 (reprinted in P. Mayerson, *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens* [Jerusalem 1994] 200-201).

New Light on the Paternmouthis Archive from Excavations at Aswan When Archaeology and Papyrology Meet

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Abstract

Although in recent years several studies have been devoted to aspects of the Paternmouthis archive (fifth-seventh centuries CE), there are still many questions about it left unanswered. This article makes two contributions to the study of the archive. In the first place the remarkably precise references to the topography of Late Antique Syene already known from the papyri will be examined in the light of recent excavations carried out in Aswan since 2000. Secondly, the findspot of the archive will be established on the basis of a hitherto unnoticed diary entry by one of the German excavators of Elephantine at the start of the twentieth century. Together these contributions show the benefits of close cooperation between archaeologists and papyrologists.

Introduction

In a special thematic section of a recent issue of this journal an attempt was made to bridge the gap between the fields of archaeology and papyrology.¹ The introductory essay, followed by several case studies illustrating different interdisciplinary approaches, sketches developments in Egyptian archaeology and papyrology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and provides some answers to the question of why there has been so little cooperation between these disciplines for such a long time. The authors make reference to several recent archaeological projects such as the Dakhleh Oasis Project in which papyrologists successfully work together with other specialists on site. At the end of their essay, the authors plead enthusiastically for “an ongoing and dynamic

¹ BASP (2005) 167-272.

conversation between these fields that will continue beyond this volume.”² In this article I would like to answer their plea by presenting a number of results from recent excavations at Aswan that shed new light on the fifth- to seventh-century Patermouthis archive.

The origins of my involvement in the excavations at Aswan go back to 2000, when I began my doctoral thesis on the religious transformation in the region of the First Cataract in Late Antiquity.³ This project included a study not only of relevant texts (literary works, papyri, ostraka, inscriptions) but also of the material remains, which necessitated a visit to the region. I soon became a member of the joint archaeological mission of the Swiss Institute of Architectural and Archaeological Research Cairo and the Supreme Council of Antiquities, since the director of the Institute, Cornelius von Pilgrim, asked me to take responsibility for two projects in the temple of Isis at Aswan: the first, a study of the reuse of the temple in Late Antiquity and later times, and the second, a catalogue of all graffiti on the temple walls.⁴ The three fieldwork campaigns between 2001 and 2003 in which I participated gave me the opportunity not only to work on these projects but also to gain a detailed insight into the landscape of the region and to discuss archaeological material with the archaeologists on the spot.⁵

In contrast to the other major sites in the region, Elephantine and Philae, the archaeological picture of the Late Antique town of Aswan (then known by its Greek name Syene) was fairly bleak before the year 2000. The most detailed

² T. Gagos, J.E. Gates, A.T. Wilburn, “Material Culture and Texts of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Creating Context, Debating Meaning,” *BASP* 42 (2005) 171-188.

³ J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity (AD 298-642)* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Groningen 2005). A revised version of this dissertation will be published as *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 173; Leuven, in press).

⁴ The first project has been completed and was published in C. von Pilgrim, K.-C. Bruhn, J.H.F. Dijkstra, and J. Wininger, “The Town of Syene: Report on the 3rd and 4th Season in Aswan,” *MDAIK* 62 (2006) 215-277 at 228-238 (Ch. III). The second project is in the course of publication.

⁵ Cooperation with the archaeologists in the Aswan region has for example already resulted, along with other new materials to be included in my forthcoming book about the First Cataract region, in the publication of four Late Antique inscriptions from Elephantine that were found during excavations between 2000 and 2002, and of four other inscriptions from the East Church of Philae that Ludwig Borchardt (1863-1938) had indicated in a sketch drawing of the church preserved among his papers in the Swiss Institute at Cairo. See J.H.F. Dijkstra, “Late Antique Inscriptions from the First Cataract Area Discovered and Rediscovered,” *JJP* 33 (2003) 55-66.

information about the topography of the town between the fifth and seventh centuries actually came from a papyrus archive, that of Patermouthis. Because the papyri in this archive mostly concern Syene, they are commonly known among papyrologists as “the Syene papyri.” Among them are several contracts for the sale of houses or house shares, which give detailed topographical references to specific parts of Late Antique Syene. Good work was done in establishing a more coherent chronology of the papyri in the 1980s, work which culminated in an issue of this journal devoted entirely to the archive. One of the articles in that issue was specifically devoted to the house contracts.⁶

Since 2000, however, the ongoing excavations by the Swiss Institute and the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Aswan have given us an equally detailed picture of the material remains of Late Antique Syene. It is now possible to compare the detailed topographical references in the Patermouthis archive with the published archaeological remains from the site itself, which cover four seasons (2000-2004). In the first section of the following I will therefore discuss some of the preliminary results of the recent excavations, in particular those pertaining to the topography of the town in Late Antiquity.⁷ In the second section, I will put these archaeological remains alongside what we already know from the papyri in order to determine how far the archaeological evidence supplements or reinforces the evidence of the papyri.

Apart from giving new insights into the topography of Late Antique Syene, current analysis of the recent archaeological remains has also resulted in a discovery with regard to the Patermouthis archive itself: its findspot. Thus far, papyrologists have been divided about the place of origin of the archive. Though the papyri mainly concern Syene, most scholars assumed that they had actually been found on Elephantine in the early twentieth century. By going through the diaries of the German excavators of Elephantine at that time, however, we have discovered that the findspot of the archive should in

⁶ J.J. Farber and B. Porten, “The Patermouthis Archive: A Third Look,” *BASP* 23 (1986) 81-98; J.J. Farber, “Family Financial Disputes in the Patermouthis Archive,” G. Husson, “Houses in Syene in the Patermouthis Archive,” J.G. Keenan, “Evidence for the Byzantine Army in the Syene Papyri,” and L.S.B. MacCoull, “Christianity at Syene/ Elephantine/Philae,” *BASP* 27 (1990) 112-121, 123-137, 139-150, and 151-162.

⁷ For a complete overview of the results, the reader is referred to the first two preliminary reports, C. von Pilgrim, K.-C. Bruhn, and A. Kelany, “The Town of Syene. Preliminary Report on the 1st and 2nd Season in Aswan,” *MDAIK* 60 (2004) 119-148, and Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 4). I will mostly avoid detailed archaeological descriptions, as the preliminary reports published thus far sufficiently cover that ground. It is also important to note here that the reports that have been published so far are “preliminary.” The excavations are still in progress and may supplement, nuance, or refute the interpretations brought forward in the published preliminary reports and in this article.

fact be located in Aswan. This discovery will be presented in the third section of this article.

Together these results show the benefits of the collaboration between papyrologists and archaeologists. As they concern the Paternouthis archive, it was decided that I, as the papyrologist, should write the article. And as the most important recent articles about the Paternouthis archive have been published in this journal, it seemed logical to publish it here. Yet, this circumstance should not distract from the contributions made to this study by the archaeologists, especially the one with whom I most closely worked in the field between 2001 and 2003, Kai-Christian Bruhn. In fact, many of the observations made in the following belong to these scholars, and I am immensely grateful to all of them for their support and for sharing their ideas with me. This article should therefore be seen as the result of a collaborative and interdisciplinary effort. I gladly dedicate it to the excavators of Aswan.⁸

1. Recent Archaeological Evidence for the Topography of Late Antique Syene⁹

In contrast to the hill ruin of Elephantine, which has been abandoned since the Middle Ages, the site of Aswan was resettled in the nineteenth century. This factor has had a direct impact on its archaeological remains, which are hidden beneath the southern part of the modern city ("Old Aswan") and hence are not easy to access. As is clear from the *Description de l'Égypte*, the scholars accompanying Napoleon's army still saw large parts of the ancient town wall, especially the southern and parts of the eastern and northern stretches, but the remains are now lost (these remains are indicated in Fig. 1, a map of the areas of Aswan investigated in the first to fourth seasons of excavation; references to these areas hereafter are to this map).¹⁰ They also saw the remains of several monuments, one of which, the temple of Domitian (Area 3), has remained visible to the present day.

⁸ Preliminary versions of (parts of) this article were presented on two occasions, the Seminar for Eastern Christianity in Leiden (15 June 2007) and the 25th International Congress of Papyrology in Ann Arbor (3 August 2007). I would like to thank the audience on both occasions for a stimulating exchange of ideas, as well as Kai-Christian Bruhn, Cornelius von Pilgrim, and one of the editors of this journal for their comments on earlier versions of this article, and Richard Burgess for correcting my English.

⁹ For an overview of the excavation history of Aswan, see C. von Pilgrim in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 7) 122-124, on which the following brief introduction to the material remains is based.

¹⁰ *Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités-Descriptions* 1 (Paris 1821²) Pl. 31.

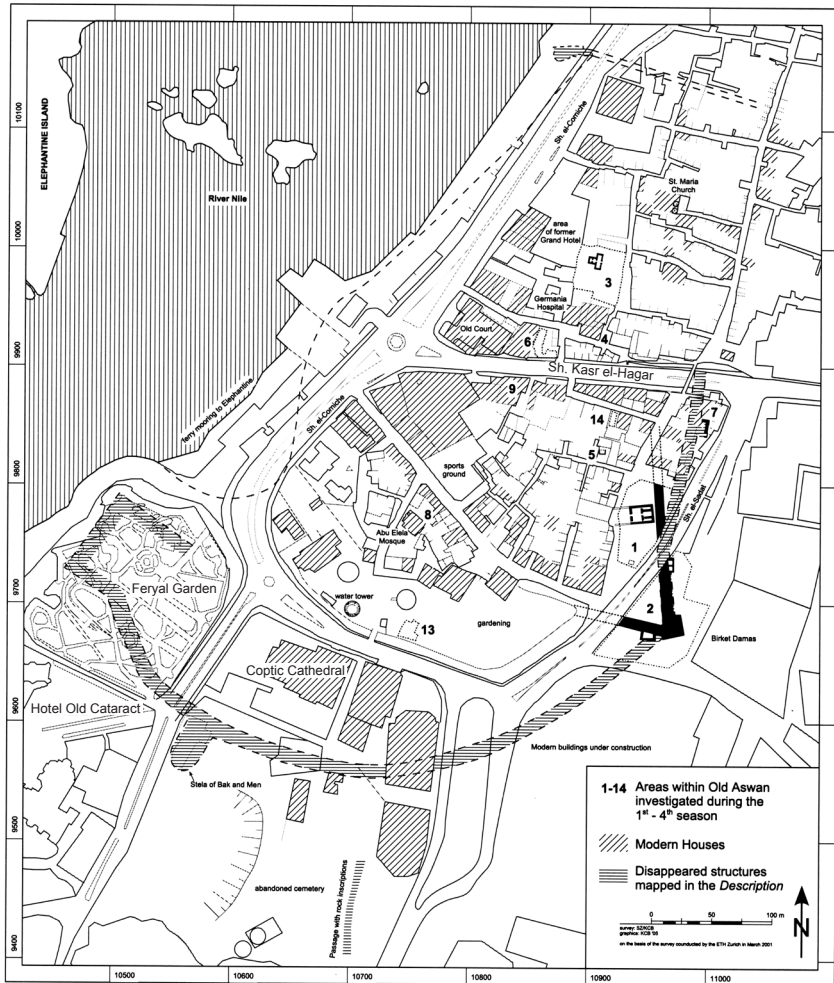


Fig. 1. Topographical map of Old Aswan showing the areas that the Swiss Institute investigated during the first to fourth seasons (2000-2004). (Von Pilgrim et al. [n. 4] Fig. 1).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries numerous discoveries of ancient structures were made in Aswan, but these were often the result of modern building activities and illegal diggings instead of systematic excavations. For instance, in 1871 the temple of Isis (Area 1), the only other ancient monument of Aswan still visible today, was discovered during work on the railway from

Aswan to Shellal, situated on the west bank of the Nile opposite Philae. A series of further discoveries followed north of what is now the Coptic church: a paved street with Roman statue bases in 1895/6, another statue base in 1904, and the remains of a temple, which now turns out to have been a church with reused blocks from a temple on Elephantine, in 1907. Characteristically, hardly any records were kept of these finds, or of their exact findspots.¹¹ In fact, the last find should be viewed in the context of large-scale building activities in this part of the city in the summer of 1907 when an earthen ramp was thrown up which destroyed the top layers underneath along with many archaeological remains.

In the 1970s the first well documented publications of the archaeological remains of Aswan appeared. An Italian team under the supervision of the Egyptologist Edda Bresciani published all the reliefs of the temple of Isis, the textual graffiti visible on the temple's walls, and some figurative graffiti in 1978, that is, more than a century after the discovery of the temple. The publication also included several stone blocks which had been collected from the surrounding area and dumped in the temple.¹² The other serious archaeological work on the monuments of Aswan was done from the 1970s onwards by the former director of the Swiss Institute, Horst Jaritz, who, in the course of several other archaeological activities in which he was involved in the Aswan region, investigated the temple of Domitian (Area 3) and published the remains of a church, now lost, that was situated on the Nile just outside the northern wall of the ancient town (indicated on Fig. 1). He dated the church between ca. 750 and 850 and identified it with the church of Saint Psoti known from a later Arabic source.¹³ Between 1987 and 1993, he also conducted several survey campaigns around the temple of Isis (in Areas 1 and 2).¹⁴

The promising preliminary work done by Jaritz inspired his successor, Von Pilgrim, to start, together with the Supreme Council of Antiquities, a large-scale excavation project. As stated above, these excavations, the first systematic excavations ever undertaken in Aswan, began in 2000 and are ongoing. Work

¹¹ The only fact we know about the street found in 1895/6 is that it was situated approximately 30 m south of the Abu Elela mosque (Fig. 1). See R. Cagnat, "Quatre inscriptions inédites d'Assouan," *CRAIBL* (1896) 37-45 at 37-38 (n. 1).

¹² E. Bresciani and S. Pernigotti, *Assuan* (Pisa 1978).

¹³ H. Jaritz, "Untersuchungen zum 'Tempel des Domitian' in Assuan," *MDAIK* 31 (1975) 237-257, and "Die Kirche des heiligen Psôti vor der Stadtmauer von Assuan," in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1985) 1-19.

¹⁴ H. Jaritz and M. Rodziewicz, "Syene – Review of the Urban Remains and its Pottery," *MDAIK* 50 (1994) 115-141, and "Syene – Investigation of the Urban Remains in the Vicinity of the Temple of Isis (II)," *MDAIK* 52 (1996) 233-249.

published thus far (to 2004) has concentrated on the excavation of the houses around the temples of Isis and Domitian (Areas 1 and 3) and on the temple of Isis itself. Except for Area 2, which had already been surveyed by Jaritz, in all other areas emergency excavations have taken place whenever the occasion arose after building activities in this densely populated part of Aswan had revealed ancient remains. Let us now have a look at what these recent excavations tell us about the topography of Late Antique Syene.

In his study of the church of Saint Psoti of 1985, for which he had to rely on older studies and travel accounts, Jaritz had already concluded that the church was built outside the northwestern corner tower of the ancient town wall. What is indicated in the map of the *Description de l'Égypte* as a "construction romaine," he interpreted as part of the northern stretch of the town wall (Fig. 1). He also noted that about 50 m of the western wall parallel to the Nile was visible on earlier photographs. He dated the wall to the sixth century on the basis of three Greek inscriptions found in Aswan, which mention the renovation of a tower (πύργος) and the construction of one and the renovation of another part of the town wall (τείχος).¹⁵

Although a dating of the inscriptions to the sixth century is perhaps too narrow, work by Jaritz in Areas 1 and 2 between 1987 and 1993 confirms that major building activities were carried out on the town wall of Syene in this period.¹⁶ In his survey of this area, Jaritz was able to reconstruct a large stretch of the town wall, from the back of the temple of Isis to the southeastern corner tower. From this research, it became clear that the town wall was much older than Late Antiquity and went back to at least the Ptolemaic period, after which several additions were made to it over the centuries. The southeastern corner tower, for example, was built in the Roman period, but two smaller towers, a double tower on the eastern wall and another tower close to the southeastern corner tower on a wall stretching towards the west (see Fig. 1), were added in Late Antiquity. For the first tower this dating was based on a Maltese cross found on its walls; for the second tower the evidence was more secure and consisted of fifth-/sixth-century pottery found beneath its foundation walls.

¹⁵ Jaritz, "Kirche des heiligen Psôti" (n. 13) 14-17. The inscriptions were published as *I.Th.Sy.* 235-237. The findspot of two of the inscriptions is known approximately: *I.Th.Sy.* 235 was found in the "Feryal Garden" on 5 June 1909, and *I.Th.Sy.* 236 in a hill ruin near the temple of Isis in November 1927 (for the locations see Fig. 1).

¹⁶ The sixth-century date of the inscriptions is based on similar inscriptions mentioning the renovation of the quay walls of Philae, one of which, *I.Philae* 2.216, dates to 577. However, there are two other restoration inscriptions, *I.Philae* 2.194-195, which date to the fifth century, so it is better to date the undated examples more generally to Late Antiquity.

The wall stretching towards the west was probably also rebuilt or renovated in Late Antiquity as about a hundred blocks from a temple from the reign of Tiberius were found reused in it.¹⁷

In the excavations between 2000 and 2004 the relation between the temple of Isis, its retaining wall and the town wall at the back of the temple has been investigated and the different stages of construction meticulously recorded.¹⁸ In addition, an emergency excavation took place in a house near Kasr el-Hagar Street (Area 7). This excavation revealed two walls of a tower belonging to the town wall and dating after the fifth century. A comparison of this evidence with the eastern stretch of the town wall as indicated on the map of the *Description de l'Égypte* makes it clear that it was inaccurate and that the wall actually would have run 40 m further towards the west (corrected on the map included here).¹⁹ Despite some mistakes in scale and projection, however, the wall as indicated in the *Description* seems generally reliable, which has resulted in another important observation. If we follow its southern stretch, the wall starts in the west on the rocky outcrop now known as the “Feryal Garden” and then follows a semi-circular route towards the southeastern corner tower as investigated by Jaritz (Area 2). He thought, however, that the wall extending from the corner tower into the town, which would have run in the direction of the “Feryal Garden,” was the southern town wall. It now seems that this wall separated the town into a northern and southern section.²⁰

Recent excavations in three areas of the northern section give us further evidence for the topography of the Late Antique town. To start with, the greatest amount of work has been done in the area around the temple of Isis (Area 1). Building on the preliminary investigation by Jaritz, the excavators have thoroughly explored the houses to the south of the temple and divided them into four phases of habitation ranging from the first to the eleventh century.²¹ The relation of these houses to the temple of Isis has also been researched, and we now know that in Late Antiquity a modest church was built inside the

¹⁷ Jaritz and Rodziewicz, “Syene – Review” (n. 14) 115-120.

¹⁸ K.-C. Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 4) 220-228 (Ch. II).

¹⁹ K.-C. Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 7) 140-143 (Ch. VI).

²⁰ Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 4) 265, 267. Admittedly, the southern stretch of the wall has not yet been excavated. Nonetheless, as we will see in the next section, two papyri from the Paternouthis archive prove that the southern part of the town was encircled by a wall in the sixth century, so that it is likely that this stretch of the Late Antique town wall too followed approximately the same course of the wall as indicated in the *Description*.

²¹ Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 7) 127-134 (Ch. III); Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 4) 238-251 (Ch. IV).

temple. Although the ground level of the houses surrounding the temple was considerably raised over time, it seems that the ground level of the church remained the same in Late Antiquity since its forecourt was protected by mud brick walls.²²

Two other areas in the northern part of town that have been investigated are the areas on both sides of Kasr el-Hagar Street (Areas 6 and 9). The area to the south of the road (Area 9) has been for the most part disturbed by the tanks of a modern petrol station, but a limited emergency excavation still revealed that large-scale building activities took place here in the fifth century or later.²³ Evidence from the other side of the road (Area 6), however, shows that this area was inhabited long before the fifth century. From an emergency excavation it appears that the area was probably in use as a workshop area in the early first century. There is a gap until the fifth century, when the area was thoroughly remodeled in order to accommodate monumental architecture. Along a paved street, a cross-shaped baptismal font was found, which is connected with a martyr's tomb. The combination of a baptistery and a martyr's tomb indicates that an important church was nearby. Indeed, it is likely that it was the cathedral church of Syene.²⁴ If this interpretation is correct, it could explain the profound restructuring of the area in Late Antiquity, which may have been focused on the town's new religious center. Be this as it may, the buildings were abandoned at the end of the seventh century, but the area remained in use as a residential area until at least the fourteenth century.²⁵

Finally, an area in the southern part of town has now also been excavated (Area 13). An emergency excavation took place close to the spot where between 1895 and 1907 the paved road with imperial statue bases and the church with reused blocks from a temple on Elephantine (see above) were found. The excavation demonstrates that this part of town south of the wall, extending from the southeastern corner tower towards the "Feryal Garden," was inhabited continuously from the fourth century BCE until the first century CE, thus supporting the assumption that this part of town was inhabited in Late Antiquity as well. Unfortunately, the excavation has also shown that the Late Antique layers in this area have been lost and that during the building activities in Aswan in the summer of 1907 a layer of loose waste material up to 4 m thick was dumped on top of the earlier layers.²⁶

²² J.H.F. Dijkstra in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 4) 228-238 (Ch. III).

²³ Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 7) 143-148 (Ch. VII).

²⁴ For martyrs' tombs in Egyptian churches, see P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Leiden 2002) 127-136, and for baptisteries, 137-148.

²⁵ Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 4) 253-264 (Ch. VI).

²⁶ Bruhn in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 4) 264-270 (Ch. VII).

To summarize, in this section we have seen that the depiction of the town wall in the *Description de l'Égypte* combined with recent excavations gives us a clear idea of the general layout of Late Antique Syene. It seems that the parts of the wall still seen by the French scholars, though ultimately going back to a much earlier period, reached their final state as the result of large-scale building activities in Late Antiquity, probably in the fifth and sixth centuries.²⁷ It has also become clear that in Late Antiquity Syene was divided by a wall separating the northern from the southern part of town. Excavations of three areas in the northern part have further enhanced our knowledge of the topography of Late Antique Syene. We have detailed evidence from the houses that were built around the temple of Isis, which was reused as a church in Late Antiquity. Moreover, on both sides of Kasr el-Hagar Street two areas have been excavated where extensive building activities took place in the fifth century or later, presumably connected with an important church that is assumed to have been nearby. With these archaeological remains in mind, it is now time to have a look at what we know from the Paternouthis archive about the topography of Late Antique Syene and how it compares with the archaeological evidence.

2. The Topographical References in the Paternouthis Archive Reconsidered

The Paternouthis archive has received ample attention in recent years. As is well known, the papyri were dispersed over two collections, with one half in Munich and the other in London, and were published separately, the former half by Leopold Wenger (1874-1953) and August Heisenberg (1869-1930) in 1914, the latter as part of volume 5 of the papyri in the British Museum by Sir Harold Idris Bell (1879-1967) in 1917.²⁸ After the groundwork had been laid, the archive was not studied systematically for seventy years. This occurred only in 1986 when Joel Farber and Bezalel Porten discovered that several papyrus documents that had been published separately belonged together. They also suggested new dates for some of the documents and included a useful chronological list of the papyri at the end of their article.²⁹

This significant step forward led to four articles published by Joel Farber, Geneviève Husson, James Keenan and Leslie MacCoull in 1990 reconsidering

²⁷ This conclusion does not exclude renovation works to the town wall in later times. At present the last stage of archaeologically attested modifications to the wall dates to Late Antiquity. I doubt, however, whether later renovations would have substantially altered the course of the town wall.

²⁸ *P.Mon.*, of which a second edition appeared in 1986 as *P.Münch.* 1, and *P.Lond.* 5.1719-1737 and 1846-1861.

²⁹ Farber and Porten (n. 6).

several aspects of the contents of the Greek papyri.³⁰ Important work on the Coptic side of the archive was done by the late Sarah Clackson in 1995. In the original editions of the Greek papyri, it was noted that one Coptic papyrus ended up in Munich (it remains unpublished), whereas another Coptic text found in the London collection on the back of a Greek text had been published in 1913.³¹ In 1995, Clackson published four more Coptic papyri from the British Library and discussed several other Coptic texts that possibly belong to the Patermouthis archive.³² Finally, all observations from the above-mentioned articles were included in Porten's collection of English translations of Elephantine papyri published in 1996.³³

What has a decade of recent scholarship on the Patermouthis archive brought us? After the reunion of several fragments and a substantial revision of the chronology, it now seems that we have a bilingual family archive centered on a certain Flavius Patermouthis, son of Menas, which consists of 32 Greek and at least 6 Coptic documents, together with several fragments, ranging in date from 493 to 613.³⁴ The immense progress that has been made in the understanding of the archive, however, should not conceal the many

³⁰ Farber, Keenan, Husson, and MacCoull (n. 6).

³¹ For the unpublished Coptic papyrus from Munich see *P.Münch.* 1, p. 2; the Coptic text on the verso of *P.Lond.* 5.1720 was transcribed by H.R. Hall in H.I. Bell, "Syene Papyri in the British Museum," *Klio* 13 (1913) 160-174 at 173-174, and revised by L.S.B. MacCoull, "Further Notes on *ST* 439 (*P.Lond.* V 1720v)," *ZPE* 96 (1993) 229-233.

³² S.J. Clackson, "Four Coptic Papyri from the Patermouthis Archive in the British Library," *BASP* 32 (1995) 97-116.

³³ B. Porten (ed.), *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Leiden 1996).

³⁴ For the Greek papyri, I follow the list by Farber and Porten (n. 6) 97, and count as one papyrus those fragments from the Munich and London collections that join, but may have separate entries in *P.Münch.* 1 and *P.Lond.* 5. Farber and Porten give a list of 33 papyri, because they regard the joined text *P.Münch.* 1.4+5.r + *P.Lond.* 5.1726 and the verso of *P.Münch.* 1.5 as two separate texts; I find the argument in Porten (n. 33) 486 that these texts are closely related persuasive and therefore count them as one. Accordingly, translations of the 32 Greek texts with comments can be found in Porten (n. 33) as nos. D 20-27 and 29-52. Translations of four of the five published Coptic texts can be found under no. D 24 (p. 460, in the translation by MacCoull) and nos. E 1-3 (the papyri published by Clackson). The fourth text published by Clackson (n. 32) 112-113, was deemed too fragmentary to be included in the collection of translations. Further Greek fragments not included in the collection can be found under *P.Münch.* 1.17-18 and *P.Lond.* 5.1846-1848 and 1850-1861. In the following I will refer to both the edition of the text and Porten's translation.

problems that still remain.³⁵ Solving all these problems lies outside the scope of this article, but what I want to do here is make two contributions to the study of the archive: (1) to compare the topographical references in the archive with the published archaeological remains from Aswan; (2) to establish the findspot of the archive.

To start with the first point, in 1913 Bell already noted the importance of the sales of houses and house shares for the topography of Late Antique Syene.³⁶ His observations were further worked out by Husson.³⁷ In her article, she isolates twenty texts, thirteen of them being sale contracts, that mention houses or house shares. Apart from a fine analysis of the terms used to describe the houses, the division of the houses, and their prices, she also includes some valuable observations on the location of the houses within Late Antique Syene, which can now be evaluated against the background of the recent archaeological remains.³⁸ Since Husson's article there has also appeared a solid overview of the terms used for town quarters in Greek papyri; this provides many parallels to compare with the division of Syene.³⁹

The first of the topographical references is found in one of the oldest documents in the Paternmouthis archive. It is a sale of a courtyard (dated around 493) διακειμένης ἐπὶ τῇ[ν (...) Συήνῃ]ν καὶ περὶ τὸ νότινον μέρος τοῦ Φρουρίου καὶ περὶ λαύραν καλουμένην τῆς Παρεμβολῆς ἣτοι Σκυτέων, "situated in (...) Syene and in the southern part of the Fortress and in the quarter called (quar-

³⁵ The main problem is that most of the Greek texts date from 574 onwards and concern Paternmouthis and his relatives, whereas their connection to the earlier eight papyri with a date between 493 and 557 is not yet firmly established. See Farber and Porten (n. 6), especially 94-95, for some first attempts at bridging the gap between the earlier and later groups. Other aspects of the archive that need to be further studied are the relationship between the Greek and Coptic papyri, and the status of the Greek fragments lumped together by Bell under several headings without giving a transcription for most of them.

³⁶ Bell (n. 31) 171. On pp. 172-173 he includes some observations on topography.

³⁷ Husson (n. 6).

³⁸ Husson (n. 6) 129-133. Interestingly, at the end of her article (p. 136), Husson compares her reconstruction of the commonest type of houses in the papyri with houses found in excavations in Elephantine and concludes: "This is an example of a close connection between texts and archaeology, which is one of the interests of this exceptional archive." The house descriptions in the papyri can now be compared with the Late Antique houses of Aswan itself.

³⁹ K.A. Worp, "Town Quarters in Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Early Arab Egypt," in P.M. Sijpesteijn and L. Sundelin (eds), *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt* (Leiden 2004) 227-248. The quarters of Syene are listed on pp. 237-238.

ter) of the Camp, namely (quarter) of the Cobblers.”⁴⁰ The principle of these topographical references is simple. In order to locate the courtyard within the town we see that first the name of the town is given (Syene), then a specific part of the town (the southern part of the Fortress), and finally within that part of the town the name of the quarter (both known as the Camp Quarter and the Cobblers’ Quarter). There follows a quick reference to the place of the courtyard within the quarter, for its main door opens to the north on the public road (ἡ δημοσία ῥύμη) and it adjoins the seller’s house, namely to the east of it.⁴¹ This quick reference is made more explicit a bit later on, where the boundaries on all sides of the courtyard are given.⁴²

A total of ten such precise topographical references can be found in the Patermouthis archive, and they all refer to the southern part of the Fortress.⁴³ Φρούριον can mean both “garrison” and “fortress,” but there is no doubt that the meaning “fortress” should prevail here, because the army camp of Syene (παρεμβολή) was situated in a quarter named after it, and with Φρούριον obviously a larger unit of the town is meant.⁴⁴ Bell saw the division of Syene as analogous to the situation at Hermopolis, which, as is amply attested in papyri into Late Antiquity, was divided into two ἄμφοδα or town quarters, the Fortress (τὸ Φρούριον) and the City (ἡ Πόλις), which were in turn subdivided into two parts each, the Fortress East and West and the City East and West.⁴⁵ Comparing this situation with Syene, Bell suggested that the Fortress there was a town quarter, too, divided into at least two parts, northern and southern, and that the other town quarter may have been the City, which could also have been divided into two or more parts.⁴⁶

Although Bell is right that if there is a Fortress South there must have been a Fortress North, he is probably wrong to regard the Fortress of Syene as a town quarter. This confusion arises from the translation of the term λαύρα, which can mean both “street” and “town quarter” in the papyri from the Roman period onwards.⁴⁷ As it turns out, both meanings appear in the Patermouthis archive. In one case, a sale of house shares, a λαύρα δημοσία is mentioned,

⁴⁰ *P.Münch.* 1.16.6-8 = D 21.

⁴¹ *P.Münch.* 1.16.8-10.

⁴² *P.Münch.* 1.16.15-22.

⁴³ So Husson (n. 6) 129.

⁴⁴ Cf. the use of τὸ κάστρον in one other text in the archive, *P.Münch.* 1.6.38 + *P.Lond.* 5.1849 = D 35. Whether the word is the equivalent of Φρούριον or παρεμβολή is not clear.

⁴⁵ For the town quarters of Hermopolis, see Worp (n. 39) 235, with references.

⁴⁶ Bell (n. 31) 172-173.

⁴⁷ Worp (n. 39).

which seems to be a variant of δημοσία ῥύμη or “public road,” a phrase that is frequently attested in the archive.⁴⁸ In all other cases, however, λαύρα is part of the detailed topographical references to a location within the town of Syene, which seems to be a larger unit than a street, in other words, a quarter. As appears from parallels elsewhere, λαύρα in the sense of “quarter” is usually associated with an important building or profession.⁴⁹ This is exactly what we find in the Paternouthis archive. Apart from the quarter of the Camp or Cobblers, two more town quarters are known from the southern part of the Fortress: the “quarter of the public Camel Yard of the transport (service) from Philae” (λαύρα τοῦ δημοσίου Καμηλῶνος τῆς βασταγῆς Φιλῶν) and the “quarter of the shrine of the holy and triumphant Victor” (λαύρα τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀθλοφόρου Βίκτορος).⁵⁰ If λαύρα is synonymous with ἄμφοδον in these cases, as observed by Husson, then the Fortress must be a larger unit than a quarter of the town.⁵¹

Without knowledge of the archaeological context, Husson already suggested that the Fortress must have been surrounded by a wall.⁵² She referred to two instances in which the word τεῖχος occurs in the Paternouthis archive,

⁴⁸ *PLond.* 5.1724.36-37 = D 32. See Husson (n. 6) 131, with references. The λαύρα δημοσία even figures in the same context as the δημοσία ῥύμη in the above-mentioned text from ca. 493, as the main door of the courtyard/house share opens on the north to the public road in both texts.

⁴⁹ Worp (n. 39) 233.

⁵⁰ Camp or Cobblers' Quarter: *PLond.* 5.1855 + *PMünch.* 1.15 = D 20 (lost but supplemented somewhere after l. 7 on the analogy of *PMünch.* 1.16); *PMünch.* 1.16.6-8 = D 21; *PMünch.* 1.8.19 + *PLond.* 5.1857 = D 23.19. Camp Quarter: *PLond.* 5.1722.13 = D 22; *PMünch.* 1.9.54-55 + *PLond.* 5.1734 (prot.) = D 40.54-55; *PMünch.* 1.13.21-22 = D 47. Camel Yard Quarter (the camel yard is situated earlier in the quarter of the Camp, *PLond.* 5.1722.14 = D 22; here the word δημόσιος is omitted): *PMünch.* 1.11.23 = D 45; *PMünch.* 1.12.18-19 = D 46. Saint Victor's Quarter: *PMünch.* 1.9.37 + *PLond.* 5.1734 (prot.) = D 40.37; cf. *PLond.* 5.1733.25 = D 49 (λαύρα τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθλοφόρου ἀπα Βίκτορος μάρτυρος). To give two contemporary parallels, in papyri from Arsinoe from the sixth century onwards there are attested both a λαύρα Παρεμβολῆς and a λαύρα τοῦ ἁγίου Βίκτορος. See Worp (n. 39) 238-242.

⁵¹ Husson (n. 6) 130-131 (especially p. 130: “The Fortress was certainly a large area, since it was itself divided into several parts”). Like Bell (n. 31) 173, Wenger and Heisenberg translated λαύρα as “street.” Cf. Porten (n. 33) 482 (n. 19), who in the topographical references translates λαύρα as “quarter,” but because of the λαύρα δημοσία also keeps open the possibility that λαύρα means “street” in the other cases; indeed “to do so would not confuse, and might even enhance, our understanding of the topography.” As argued here, in my opinion both meanings could coexist and the λαύρα δημοσία appears in a different context from the other occurrences.

⁵² Husson (n. 6) 129: “This Fortress was, in my opinion, enclosed by a τεῖχος.”

both in the description of the southern boundary of a courtyard: in one place the southern boundary is “a public street leading to the wall” (ρύμη δημοσία ἄγουσα εἰς τὸ τεῖχος), in another it is “the public wall of the ὄρος” (τοῦ δημοσίου τείχους τοῦ ὄρους).⁵³ Husson rightly connected these references to the three building/restoration inscriptions on the town wall already mentioned in the previous section. One of these inscriptions is more specific about the location of the part of the wall, for it is τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τοῦ τεῖχο[υ]ς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, “this part of the wall (stretching) towards the ὄρος.”⁵⁴ Although Husson is right in comparing the papyrus mentioning “the public wall of the ὄρος” with this inscription, her translation of τὸ ὄρος as “monastery” in both cases is implausible.⁵⁵ The meaning of τὸ ὄρος in the inscription is clearly “desert, mountain,” since the hills outside of the town wall of Aswan seem to be referred to.⁵⁶ Similarly, in the papyrus the name for the town wall, public or not, as “the wall of the mountain,” that is, the wall separating the town from the hills outside, is to be preferred. Moreover, if a monastery was meant in both cases, the name of the monastery would have been provided.

With the aid of the archaeological remains we can now go one step further and decide which part exactly of Syene was enclosed by a wall. We have already seen in the last section that the Late Antique town wall can be followed almost entirely and that it enclosed the whole town. The conclusion thus seems inescapable that with the term “Fortress” the whole fortified town is meant.⁵⁷

⁵³ *P.Münch.* 1.16.16 = D 21; *P.Münch.* 1.13.28 = D 47. A nominative is expected in the latter text and there are three ways of solving this problem: (1) by reading a nominative instead of the genitive: τὸ δημόσιον τεῖχος τοῦ ὄρους, “the public wall of the ὄρος;” (2) by supplementing ρύμη: <ρύμη> τοῦ δημοσίου τείχους τοῦ ὄρους, “<the street> of the public wall of the ὄρος;” or even (3) by supplementing ρύμη and taking δημόσιος to belong with it: <ρύμη δημοσία> τοῦ {δημοσίου} τείχους τοῦ ὄρους, “<the public street> of the wall of the ὄρος.” See *P.Münch.* 1, p. 140.

⁵⁴ *I.Th.Sy.* 237.7.

⁵⁵ Husson (n. 6) 130, followed by Porten (n. 33) 532, and S.G. Richter, *Studien zur Christianisierung Nubiens* (Wiesbaden 2002) 138. This translation is already found in *P.Münch.* 1, p. 148.

⁵⁶ For this meaning of τὸ ὄρος, see H. Cadell and R. Rémondon, “Sens et emplois de τὸ ὄρος dans les documents papyrologiques,” *RÉG* 80 (1967) 343-349 at 344 (especially n. 4). Same translation in *I.Th.Sy.*, p. 180: “cette partie du rempart touchant à la colline.” Cf. Husson (n. 6) 130, who translates “that part of the fortress-wall beside the monastery,” but ἐπὶ + acc. indicates direction.

⁵⁷ This also appears from the formulation of some of the topographical references, in which the southern part of the Fortress seems to be synonymous with the southern part of the town by leaving out καὶ between the mentioning of Syene and the southern part of the Fortress, e.g. in *P.Lond.* 5.1722.12-13 = D 22.

We have also seen that another wall went from the southeastern corner tower of the town wall towards what is now the “Feryal Garden,” dividing the town into two parts. This bipartite division of Syene corresponds exactly with the division of the town into a southern and northern part as seen in the papyri. As there is no room for an eastern or western part, nor for another unity called City or the like, as in Hermopolis, it seems that the situation at Syene was thus quite different.⁵⁸ The Late Antique town was completely encircled by a wall and divided into only two parts, which were called Fortress North and South. These parts were in turn divided into several town quarters.

Having been shown that the archaeological remains reinforce and support the topographical references in the Patermouthis archive with regard to the general layout of the Late Antique town, the reader may be slightly disappointed to find out that the Late Antique layers of the only excavated area in exactly that part of the town to which all papyri refer, the southern part, have been destroyed. Consequently, the buildings, houses and streets mentioned in the Patermouthis archive are yet to be uncovered, if the remains have been preserved at all. Nonetheless, one general observation can still be made from what has been excavated in the northern part of town about one of the main buildings that was situated in the southern part, the shrine of Saint Victor.

The quarter to which the shrine gave its name is mentioned in a sale of house shares dated to 585 and again in another sale of house shares in 594.⁵⁹ The latter text also mentions the shrine itself, as it is said that the house borders to the north (beyond an alley) and east on that building which is called here “the holy *topos* of the martyr Apa Victor” (ὁ ἅγιος τόπος ἀπα Βίκτορος μάρτυρος).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ It needs to be remarked here that the term πόλις “city” is only attested for Syene from 577 CE onwards (*P.Lond.* 5.1723.7 = D 30). In Late Antiquity, Omboi was the metropolis of the first Upper Egyptian nome but it seems that Syene had attained the status of city, too, by the end of the sixth century. See for that J.H.F. Dijkstra and K.A. Worp, “The Administrative Position of Omboi and Syene in Late Antiquity,” *ZPE* 155 (2006) 183-187.

⁵⁹ *P.Münch.* 1.9.37 + *P.Lond.* 5.1734 (prot.) = D 40.37; *P.Lond.* 5.1733.25 = D 49 (see n. 50).

⁶⁰ *P.Lond.* 5.1733.36-39 (for a ground plan of this house, see Husson [n. 6] 133). Cases where both the town quarter is known and the shrine after which it is named are rare. As l. 25 mentions the quarter as “of the holy triumphant martyr Apa Victor” (τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθλοφόρου ἀπα Βίκτορος μάρτυρος), this case confirms that, *pace* Porten (n. 33) 541 (n. 8), the name of the religious buildings given to quarters could be left out. See Worp (n. 39) 242. Another interesting feature of this name is that in the earlier text εὐκτήριον is used for the shrine instead of τόπος, but this interchange was common. See A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides* (Paris 2001) 272-273. On the basis of the term λαύρα, S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in*

Even if no archaeological remains of this building are known,⁶¹ we can indirectly use its location in the southern part of town and say something more about the baptistery and martyr's tomb excavated north of Kasr el-Hagar Street (Area 6), and hence about the church that must have stood close by. At first sight the monumental church complex with its martyr's tomb fits in excellently with the apparently prominent shrine of the martyr Saint Victor. Yet, the church at Kasr el-Hagar Street was situated north of the wall that divided Syene into a northern and a southern part, and therefore cannot be the church of Saint Victor. This circumstance, together with the major building activities taking place in this area, rather suggests that the church in the northern part of town was indeed the cathedral church, whose name is frequently found in the archive appended to the names of clergymen of this church who signed or subscribed the documents.⁶²

A final observation about the topography of Late Antique Syene can also be made on the basis of the clergymen subscribing documents. In two documents (dated 585 and 586) an Isakos, son of Taeion, subscribed as "archdeacon of (the church of) Saint Mary of Syene."⁶³ According to Husson, "the church of Holy Mary must be the Ptolemaic temple of Isis."⁶⁴ She based her inference on a painting of Mary, now lost but recorded by Bresciani in the 1970s, on the plaster of one of the pillars in the converted temple of Isis.⁶⁵ However, this statement is certainly too strong, as Mary was one among many saints depicted. Moreover, a painting of Mary was a common feature in churches of this period and does

arabischer Zeit, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1984) 224, and Richter (n. 55) 138, mistakenly think that the sanctuary is a monastery, but cf. Papaconstantinou, 304 (n. 105).

⁶¹ Unless it is the building excavated in 1907 (see above), "Recent Discoveries in Egypt," *PSBA* 30 (1908) 72-74 at 73-74, first thought to be a temple but now known to be a church (date unknown) with reused blocks from a temple of Elephantine; see Von Pilgrim in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 7) 123.

⁶² The full name of the church, "God's holy church of Syene" (ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία), is for example attached to the priest Ioannes, son of Abraamios, signing a sale of house shares, *P.Lond.* 5.1724.79-80 = D 32. For this phrase as an indication of the cathedral church, see E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome 1996) 157-175 ("Καθολικὴ et les autres épithètes qualifiant le nom ἐκκλησία: contribution à l'étude de l'ordre hiérarchique des églises dans l'Égypte byzantine," 1994).

⁶³ *P.Lond.* 5.1731.45 = D 42; *P.Münch.* 1.11.77 = D 45. Add the fragment listed under *P.Lond.* 5.1850.

⁶⁴ Husson (n. 6) 132. Cf. Richter (n. 55) 138, who suggests that the episcopal church may be the same as the church of Saint Mary, but this cannot be true, see Timm (n. 60) 223; Husson (n. 6) 131-132.

⁶⁵ Bresciani and Pernigotti (n. 12) 38-41.

not in itself imply that the church was dedicated to this saint.⁶⁶ Therefore, it is better to keep the name of this church open until further evidence is found.

In sum, combining the archaeological remains with the topographical references already known from the Paternouthis archive, we have seen that these references can now be placed in a Late Antique landscape. The archaeological evidence has reinforced and supplemented the papyri, especially with regard to the general layout of the town. The comparison has shown that the Fortress known from the papyri is another name for the town, which was completely enclosed by a wall. This Fortress was divided into two parts, a northern and a southern. Unfortunately, the archaeological remains are much less useful on a more specific scale, as the topographical references in the papyri all refer to the southern part of town, from which no Late Antique layers have yet been excavated or published. Nevertheless, given our knowledge of the archaeological remains of the northern part of town it was observed that the church complex north of Kasr el-Hagar Street cannot be the church of Saint Victor, as the latter was situated in the southern part of town. It is to be expected that future finds will further enhance our knowledge of the topography of Late Antique Syene.⁶⁷

3. *The Findspot of the Paternouthis Archive: Elephantine or Aswan?*

In the Fall of 2006, I was discussing the proofs of the most recent report of the excavations at Aswan with my colleague in the field, Bruhn. I pointed out to him the importance of these finds for the topographical references in the papyri of the Paternouthis archive. By chance we came to speak about the place where the archive had been found. Bruhn simply assumed that they were from Aswan, as he knew that their contents were mainly about ancient Syene. He was also intimately familiar with the earlier German excavations which took place on Elephantine. In those early days of papyrus excavation, the excavators Otto Rubensohn (1867-1964) and Friedrich Zucker (1881-1973), together with W. Honroth, reported the discovery of many papyri found on the hill ruin of Elephantine between 1906 and 1908. Yet they do not tell us that they found the large rolls of Greek and Coptic papyri of the Paternouthis archive, which would certainly have been noted if they had really been found

⁶⁶ Cf. A. Papaconstantinou, "Les sanctuaires de la Vierge dans l'Égypte Byzantine et Omeyyade," *JJP* 30 (2000) 81-94 at 90.

⁶⁷ Apart from the excavations which will continue in the coming years, much is also to be expected from the Late Antique ostraka, in Greek and Coptic, from Aswan and Elephantine.

on Elephantine.⁶⁸ On the basis of this negative evidence, Bruhn and the other archaeologists I asked assumed that the Paternmouthis archive was found in Aswan.

This was not the view commonly held among papyrologists, including myself, which shows that papyrologists and archaeologists can sometimes live in two completely separate worlds. Some papyrologists, without having knowledge of the archaeological context, have tended to believe the contemporary account given by the British collector Robert de Rustafjaell (ca. 1876-1943) who acquired the London half of the archive and several other manuscripts for the British Museum in 1907.⁶⁹ It is worth quoting his account in full:

In the month of February 1907 I was in Egypt, engaged in making preparations for a journey to the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon in the Siwa desert. But, hearing a rumour that several important manuscripts had been discovered in Upper Egypt, I lost no time in hurrying up the Nile to attempt to acquire them. I found them to be seven Coptic volumes, a Greek codex of vellum, a dozen Greek papyri with fragments, and a book, as afterwards appeared, in the Nubian language. I was so fortunate as to conclude the purchase on the same day.

The person of whom I bought the manuscripts informed me, no doubt with the object of augmenting their value and importance, that they had all been found together quite recently near Thebes. But later investigations proved that the papyri came from the Elephantine Island at Assuan, and this has now been confirmed by their contents.⁷⁰

On the next page, De Rustafjaell continues by remarking that he showed the papyri “later in the year” in Cairo to the papyrologist Jules Nicole (1842-1921), who concluded that “these (papyri) are mostly of the sixth century” and that “they refer to ecclesiastical matters, legal proceedings, marriages and transfer of property.” Despite their “possessing great interest to students of the laws and customs of the times,” however, De Rustafjaell left them out of his book, except for the Greek text of one of them, which he published together

⁶⁸ See the official report of those excavations, W. Honroth, O. Rubensohn, F. Zucker, “Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf Elephantine in den Jahren 1906-1908,” *ZÄS* 46 (1909) 14-61.

⁶⁹ W.R. Dawson, E.P. Uphill, M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London 1995³) 368.

⁷⁰ R. de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt from Recently Discovered Predynastic and Early Christian Records* (London 1909) 3.

with a reduced facsimile.⁷¹ The papyri were eventually bought by the British Museum, where they arrived on 12 November 1907.⁷²

The acquisition of the London half of the Patermouthis archive provides an illustration of the difficulties in establishing the provenance of papyri.⁷³ As papyrologists are well aware, papyri acquired by dealers from illegal diggings may be assigned to a well-known place, in this case modern Luxor, merely to enhance their price.⁷⁴ At least De Rustafjaell saw through this and correctly located the place of origin of the archive in the region of Aswan. On the other hand, his justification for the findspot of the archive at Elephantine is suspect. True, papyrologists are also well aware that the place of writing of papyri may be different from their place of origin.⁷⁵ But in this case De Rustafjaell is not at all clear why he was so sure that Elephantine was the place of origin and not, as the contents of the papyri strongly suggest, Aswan.⁷⁶ He only vaguely alludes to “later investigations” to support the findspot at Elephantine and then adds the dubious remark, “this has now been confirmed by their contents.” This is doubly odd since, “the Syene papyri” are not really about Elephantine at all.⁷⁷

The clear arguments brought forward by my colleague Bruhn for a place of origin at Aswan made me reconsider De Rustafjaell’s dubious account. Together we made a detailed reconstruction of how the other half of the archive, the Munich half, was acquired. The German excavators of Elephantine were responsible for its acquisition, and eventually their diaries led us to the important information we were looking for. When discussing the acquisition of the Munich half, Bruhn remembered a passage from the diary of Rubensohn, which, as we will see, contains a hitherto unnoticed remark about the findspot

⁷¹ De Rustafjaell (n. 70) 86-89 (Pl. 38). Bell later republished the text as *PLond.* 5.1731 = D 42.

⁷² De Rustafjaell (n. 70) 4. For the date of acquisition see B. Layton, *Catalogue of the Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since 1906* (London 1987) xxviii.

⁷³ E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford 1980²) 42-53.

⁷⁴ Turner (n. 73) 51: “Any statement about provenance made by a finder or dealer in antiquities is open to suspicion.”

⁷⁵ Turner (n. 73) 49: “It is, indeed, of great importance to make a distinction between the place of finding and place of writing of a text.”

⁷⁶ Cf. Turner (n. 73) 51: “Documentary texts often carry reliable determinants about origin: the place may be specifically mentioned, the text may contain recognizable geographical or characteristic personal names, local deities, formulas of practice, regionalized abbreviations, etc.”

⁷⁷ This does not mean that Elephantine is not mentioned in the papyri. For example, among the Patermouthis papers is an enrollment of a new recruit into the regiment of Elephantine, *P.Münch.* 1.2 = D 31 (May - 6 October 578).

of the Paternouthis archive. In the last section of this article I will present this discovery, which clearly proves that Elephantine should be discarded as the findspot of the Paternouthis archive and that the place of origin of the archive is indeed the same as the place of writing, Aswan.

Before we come to that discovery, however, let us first give an overview of what papyrologists studying the archive have previously thought about its place of origin. In one of the first publications about the Paternouthis archive, which appeared in 1911, Wenger published a preliminary report about the Munich half.⁷⁸ In it he is more explicit about the acquisition of this part of the archive than De Rustafjaell:

Dr. Friedrich Zucker hat die Papyri in Kairo Ende 1908 von den Antikenhändlern Abdennur Rabrial aus Qene und Hamid Hamid aus Edfu um 275 Pfund Sterling erworben, wobei Professor Dr. Borchardt, der Direktor des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo, die eigentlich abschließenden Ankaufverhandlungen führte.⁷⁹

About the findspot of the papyri he is less clear. After the observation that both Syene and Elephantine are mentioned in the texts, he concludes “Vermutlich sind alle Texte von den Antikenhändlern aus dem Süden erworben und nach Kairo verbracht worden.”⁸⁰ At this point, he knew that papyri from the same archive had gone to the British Museum and that a facsimile of one of these had already been published in 1908, and he adopts the remark accompanying that facsimile that it “forms one of a group of contracts of about the same date, and all from the neighborhood of Syene.”⁸¹ Apparently, Wenger did not know where exactly the papyri were from, Elephantine or Aswan.

Three years later, in 1914, in the first edition of the Munich half of the archive, this situation had not changed. In the introduction, Wenger repeated the account of the acquisition of the Munich half in more or less the same words as the preliminary report but added, “Zucker hatte indes die Papyri bereits Anfang August 1907 bei den Händlern Girgis und Abdennur Rabrial in Qene besichtigt, doch waren für den Ankauf damals noch keine Mittel vorhanden

⁷⁸ L. Wenger, “Vorbericht über die Münchener byzantinischen Papyri,” *SBAW* 1911, no. 8, 3-28.

⁷⁹ Wenger (n. 78) 4-5.

⁸⁰ Wenger (n. 78) 9.

⁸¹ *The New Palaeographical Society* 6 (London 1908) Pl. 128, quoted in Wenger (n. 78) 9.

gewesen.”⁸² In other words, Zucker had already seen the papyri at the antique dealers Girgis and Abdennur Rabrial in Qena, forty km north of Luxor, in August 1907 but apparently it took over a year to acquire the papyri. The deal, with Abdennur Rabrial and one Hamid Hamid, was only concluded with the help of Ludwig Borchardt at the end of 1908 in Cairo. Wenger had now also seen De Rustafjaell’s book and, astoundingly, without a question, took over his remark that the place of origin of the archive was at Elephantine:

Zeigt schon der Inhalt der Texte, daß sie aus der Gegend von Syene-Elephantine stammen müssen, so wird dieser Schluß durch einige Notizen bestätigt, die ich dem Buche von Robert de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt* (1909), entnehme. (...) Rustafjaell erzählt S. 3, daß er die Papyri zusammen mit anderen Manuskripten in Oberägypten im Februar 1907 erworben habe, und daß als Fundort für die Papyri schließlich, “the Elephantine Island at Aswan” angegeben worden sei.⁸³

It is all the more surprising that the first editor of the London half of the archive, Bell, who opens his preliminary report of 1913 with a reference to De Rustafjaell’s account, does not mention Elephantine at all. Instead, he remarks: “These papyri acquired by the British Museum are, as appeared subsequently, only part of the original find made at Assuan,” and he continues with the detailed account of the acquisition of the Munich half in 1908 already given by Wenger in his preliminary report of 1911.⁸⁴ It is questionable, however, if Bell knew about the place of origin of the papyri. A little bit further in the preliminary report, in the first section under the heading “Date and Provenance of the Papyri,” Bell writes “all these papyri relate to Syene.”⁸⁵ Obviously, with “provenance” he means the place of writing of the papyri, not their place of origin. In his edition of the London half of the archive in 1917 he refers continuously to their place of writing as Syene, and it is no wonder therefore that the name “Syene papyri” derives from Bell. But Bell probably did not know either what exactly their place of origin was.

In 1986 Farber and Porten quoted a long passage from De Rustafjaell’s account. Although this implies that they thought that the archive came from

⁸² *P.Münch.* 1, p. 2.

⁸³ *P.Münch.* 1, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Bell (n. 31) 160.

⁸⁵ Bell (n. 31) 163.

Elephantine, they did not elaborate on this question.⁸⁶ In fact, when they discussed Bell's edition of the London papyri, they remarked that he published the papyri "as coming from Syene (or Assuân)."⁸⁷ The four articles published in 1990 are about the contents of the papyri and therefore do not contain any remarks on their place of origin. In her edition of four Coptic papyri from the Paternouthis archive in 1995, on the other hand, Clackson seems to prefer Elephantine as their provenance but without further discussion.⁸⁸ Finally, the same ambivalence one finds in Farber and Porten's article is found in the collection of Elephantine papyri published by Porten in 1996. This book is an odd collection of translations, for in spite of the title, papyri from or concerning Syene are apparently not excluded, and there is no justification for the inclusion or exclusion of documents.⁸⁹ In his introduction, Porten discusses the history of the discovery of the papyri from Elephantine, and by including the acquisition of the Paternouthis archive in it, he suggests that they were found on

⁸⁶ Farber and Porten (n. 6) 81-82. They also include the passage in which De Rustafjaell (n. 70) 4, says: "Rumors must have got abroad that manuscripts of greater importance than at first anticipated (if we may judge by the few selected ones) were still among the remaining lot, for, the day after my arrival, experts from two foreign museums appeared upon the scene, only to find that they had been forestalled." De Rustafjaell continues by saying that he declined their offers for purchase of the manuscripts. Although the account is confusing, the "manuscripts" do not seem to be the papyri, however, as Farber and Porten suggest, but the Greek, Coptic, and Nubian manuscripts, for "the few selected ones" refer to the four Coptic manuscripts belonging to the same lot and mentioned on the previous page (p. 3), about which De Rustafjaell says that they "had already been disposed of before my arrival; these had been selected owing to their better state of preservation (cf. p. 136), but I had an opportunity of acquiring them also later on." The latter statement is dubious, by the way, as it is known from British Museum records that the manuscripts were purchased not from De Rustafjaell but from the Cairo dealer Nahman on 16 July 1907, four months before De Rustafjaell's manuscripts were acquired. See Layton (n. 72) xxviii-xxix.

⁸⁷ Farber and Porten (n. 6) 83.

⁸⁸ See, for example, Clackson (n. 32) 100-101. She also regards Paternouthis as coming from Elephantine (p. 97 [n. 1]) and gives this town as the place of writing for the four papyri she publishes (pp. 101, 108, 112, 113).

⁸⁹ Cf. Porten (n. 33) xi-xiii. A peculiar case is *P.Rein.* 2.107, which Porten has put as no. 28 in between the translations of the Paternouthis papyri, although there is no connection between them. This text mentions a smith from Syene but, as has recently been argued, it actually comes from the Coptite nome. See J.-L. Fournet, "Révision du *P.Rein.* II 107. Un papyrus de Syène de moins, un étalon monétaire de plus," *ZPE* 117 (1997) 167-170.

Elephantine as well.⁹⁰ Yet, he never discusses the place of origin of the papyri, either here or in the introduction to the archive itself.⁹¹

What we have seen thus far is that papyrologists, either out of lack of interest or because De Rustafjaell's account of the findspot of the archive at Elephantine happened to be the only piece of serious evidence available to them, have not evaluated this account critically. Consequently, either the place of origin was accepted as Elephantine or it was left open (Aswan/Elephantine). A good example of the former choice, and a second example of how papyrologists can sometimes completely ignore the archaeologists, appears in the first edition of the Munich half of the archive, where Wenger simply refers to De Rustafjaell's account of the acquisition of the London half rather than determine for himself the findspot of his own portion of the archive. Had he talked to the excavators of Elephantine, one of whom, Zucker, had taken care that the papyri were transferred to Munich at the end of 1908, he would certainly have found out their place of origin.

To get an idea of the German excavations on Elephantine between 1906 and 1908, we have to know a bit more about the context in which they were working. In 1901, on the initiative of Hermann Diels (1848-1922) and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (1848-1931), a "Commission zur Erwerbung griechisch-litterarischer Papyri aus Egypten" was set up in Berlin. This committee was the forerunner of the Deutsches Papyruskartell (founded in 1902) and aimed at acquiring and excavating literary papyri in Egypt. The committee, unlike the other participants in the later Papyruskartell, especially wanted to acquire literary papyri, as the Königliche Museen of Berlin already had a substantial collection of documentary papyri.⁹² On 1 October 1901, after Borchardt had temporarily filled the position, the committee appointed Rubensohn to lead the program for the acquisition of papyri, but in particular with the aim of conducting papyrus excavations in Egypt.⁹³

After the exciting discovery of Aramaic papyri on Elephantine in 1904, Rubensohn became interested in the site, visited it the same year, and received permission to conduct excavations there from the Director General of the Service des Antiquités, Gaston Maspero, shortly thereafter. Rubensohn led two campaigns on Elephantine (30 January – 3 March 1906 and 10 December 1906 – 22 February 1907). But during the second campaign, already from 29 December 1906 onwards, the Germans had to share the island with the French,

⁹⁰ Porten (n. 33) 5-6.

⁹¹ Cf. Porten (n. 33) 389-404.

⁹² The first volume of *BGU* was published in 1895.

⁹³ O. Primavesi, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Papyruskartells," *ZPE* 114 (1996) 173-187, esp. 174-177.

who completed four campaigns between 1906 and 1911, the first two under Charles Clermont-Ganneau, the third under Joseph-Étienne Gautier, and the fourth under Jean Clédat. On 31 March 1907, Rubensohn resigned his position with the Papyruskartell, after which his successor, Friedrich Zucker, conducted one more campaign (18 October 1907 – 2 January 1908).⁹⁴

Rubensohn and Zucker were certainly also interested in conducting excavations on the eastern bank of the Nile, at Aswan. After the ancient town had been abandoned by the end of the Middle Ages, Aswan had moved farther north. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, the modern city expanded to the south again and the ancient town was resettled. We already saw in the first section that with the building of the railway from Aswan to Shellal in the 1870s the temple of Isis was found. During these building activities the ancient hill ruin (called *kom* in Arabic) was cut through from east to west (now Kasr el-Hagar Street; see Fig. 1).⁹⁵ As we have also seen, several other antiquities came to light in the period down to 1907, and Rubensohn and Zucker apparently became interested in digging there for papyri. Their interest is evident if we go through the diaries which they wrote and which are available in a transcript published by Wolfgang Müller in 1980 and 1982.⁹⁶

It has to be said that Rubensohn did not write down in his diaries as much as Zucker. In fact, he does not mention Aswan at all, except for one important passage. This passage, written in the middle of the second campaign, not only shows that Rubensohn was thinking about a project to excavate for papyri either near the Isis temple or north of the Cataract Hotel in Aswan (and that he left it at that), but also that he was inspired to do so by a find of papyri that must be the Paternmouthis archive. On Friday, 11 January 1907, Rubensohn writes (Fig. 2):

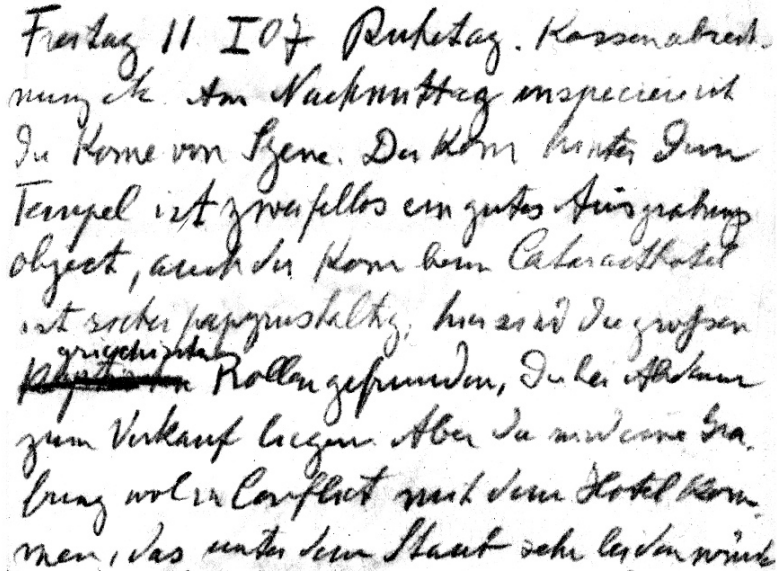
Freitag 11 I 07 Ruhetag. Kassenabrechnung etc. Am Nachmittag inspiciere ich die Kome von Syene. Der Kom hinter dem Tempel ist zweifellos ein gutes Ausgrabungsobject, auch der Kom beim Cataracthotel ist sicher papyrushaltig; hier sind die großen griechischen Rollen gefunden, die bei Abdennur zum Verkauf liegen. Aber da wird

⁹⁴ W. Müller, "Die Papyrusgrabung auf Elephantine 1906-1908. Das Grabungstagebuch der 1. und 2. Kampagne," *FuB* 20/1 (1980) 75-88 at 75-76; Porten (n. 33) 3. For the replacement of Rubensohn by Zucker in 1907, see Primavesi (n. 93) 177. For the official excavation report of the three seasons, see Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker (n. 68).

⁹⁵ Von Pilgrim in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 7) 121.

⁹⁶ For the first and second campaign led by Rubensohn, see Müller (n. 94), and for the third campaign led by Zucker, see W. Müller, "Die Papyrusgrabung auf Elephantine 1906-1908. Das Grabungstagebuch der 3. Kampagne," *FuB* 22 (1982) 7-50.

eine Grabung wol zu Conflict mit dem Hotel kommen, das unter dem Staub sehr leiden würde.⁹⁷



Freitag 11 IOZ Ruhe-tag. Kassena-brech-
nung. Am Nachmittage inspecieren wir
die Ruine von Luxor. Der Tempel hinter dem
Tempel ist zweifellos ein gutes Ausgrabungs-
object, auch die Ruine beim Cateracthotel
ist sicher papyrusalt. Hier sind die großen
~~Papyrusrollen~~^{griechische} Rollen gefunden, die bei Abdennur
zum Verkauf liegen. Aber da ein Conflict
mit dem Hotel kom-
men, das unter dem Staub sehr leiden wird

Fig. 2. Extract from the excavation diary of O. Rubensohn, entry 11 January 1907 (courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung).

The “large Greek rolls” cannot be other than those belonging to the Patermouthis archive. Not only does the size correspond to the large, Late Antique rolls of the archive, the antique dealer Abdennur must be the same person as the Abdennur Rabrial of Qena who later sold the Munich half of the Patermouthis archive to Zucker in Cairo at the end of 1908.

Since this diary was published in 1980, why was the link with the Patermouthis archive not made before? For example, in 1996 Porten first mentions the papyrus excavations of Rubensohn and Zucker as well as their diaries, and two pages later writes about the acquisition of the Patermouthis archive by Zucker, while referring back to his excavations at Elephantine.⁹⁸ The reason is short and simple: it was because the editor of the diary, Müller, could not read the name of the antique dealer and left it open (he has “A...”). My colleague Bruhn, however, relied on a typed copy of the original manuscript kept in the

⁹⁷ Müller (n. 94) 83, adapted.

⁹⁸ Porten (n. 33) 3, 5-6.

excavation house of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) on Elephantine, and this version contained the correct name. A check of the original confirmed that the reading of the typed copy was the correct one.⁹⁹ We also noted that Rubensohn had first written “koptischen,” then struck it through and wrote “griechischen” above it. Whether this correction indicates that he knew that the archive consisted of papyri in Coptic but mainly in Greek script or that he first used the term Coptic to designate that the papyri came from the Late Antique period, as is often done, cannot be decided.

A reconstruction can now be made of what happened to the Paternmouthis archive. The archive was discovered before 11 January 1907, so more probably in 1906, in the ruins to the north of the Old Cataract Hotel in Aswan, the place where the “Feryal Garden” now is (see Fig. 1). The discovery was made by illegal diggers, since on 11 January 1907 the papyri had ended up in the hands of the antique dealer Abdennur Rabrial from Qena. How the archive came to be split into two halves is hard to say, but we do know that De Rustafjaell acquired the London half from a “Copt,” that is, a Christian Egyptian dealer, in Luxor, a month later in February 1907,¹⁰⁰ and that Zucker saw the Munich half at the dealers Abdennur Rabrial and Girgis in Qena at the beginning of August of that year. Qena is about 40 km north of Luxor, and it is probable that the dealer who sold the London half to De Rustafjaell was that same Abdennur Rabrial, who almost certainly bears a Christian name and was involved in the selling of the Munich half about six months later.¹⁰¹ In any case, Zucker did not have

⁹⁹ I would like to thank Fabian Reiter of the Staatliche Museen at Berlin for providing me with good scans of the specific diary entry.

¹⁰⁰ De Rustafjaell (n. 70) 3.

¹⁰¹ The name Rabrial is no doubt a rendering of the Christian name Ghabriyâl or Ghubriyâl (personal communication from Johannes den Heijer; cf. E. Littmann, “Eigennamen der heutigen Ägypter,” in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, vol. 2 (Rome 1956) 81–93 at 90; I owe this identification to a suggestion by Maarten Raven). Support for the identification of the Copt with Abdennur, that is, ‘Abd el-Nûr Ghabriyâl/Ghubriyâl is further found by looking at how a group of 22 Coptic manuscripts copied at Esna and delivered at Edfu (the so-called “Edfu collection”), seven of which were sold to De Rustafjaell with the papyri in February of 1907, ended up in the British Museum. On 15 June 1909, a third lot of these manuscripts was acquired from the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman and “Abd en Nur Gubrial of Qena.” This means, for example, that the British Museum acquired manuscript Or. 7029 in 1909, of which one leaf had already been acquired in 1907 through De Rustafjaell (renumbered no. 163 in Layton [n. 72] 196–199; for the acquisition, see p. xviii). In his reconstruction of the acquisition of the Coptic manuscripts, Layton (n. 72) xix (n. 22), already thought that ‘Abd el-Nûr Ghabriyâl/Ghubriyâl was the supplier of De Rustafjaell: “In the second Nahman lot (the one acquired in 1909) Nahman is in partnership with another dealer Abd en Nur

the means to buy the papyri then, and it took him more than a year to acquire them; at that time, with the help of Borchardt, they were finally purchased in Cairo from Abdennur and another dealer, Hamid Hamid of Edfu.

The findspot of the Patermouthis archive north of the Cataract Hotel at Aswan has two important implications. First of all, the discovery of the archive can now be placed in the excavation history of Aswan. If the Aramaic papyri discovered in 1904 triggered Rubensohn's interest in conducting excavations for papyri on Elephantine, it was the find of the Patermouthis archive that led him to think about excavating at Aswan. He never followed up on this idea but probably passed it on to his successor Zucker, who mentions Aswan frequently in his diary.¹⁰² Zucker apparently visited the site in the spring of 1907,¹⁰³ and even received permission from Maspero to conduct excavations on the *kom* of Aswan in the summer of the same year, on condition that he share the space for the excavation with Clermont-Ganneau, just as on Elephantine.¹⁰⁴ At the start of the third campaign of the Elephantine excavations in October, however, complications arose with the local authorities who wanted to perform building activities on the *kom*.¹⁰⁵ In early November the Service des Antiquités definitively handed over most of the *kom* to the local authorities.¹⁰⁶ As a consequence, Zucker put excavations at Aswan on the back burner and eventually abandoned the idea.¹⁰⁷

More important for our purposes is the second implication of this findspot, namely that the place of origin corresponds to the place of writing. To be more precise, the findspot, the modern "Feryal Garden," is situated in the

Gubrial of Qena, Upper Egypt. Possibly Abd en Nur was the supplier of both Rustafjaell (the second lot acquired in 1907) and Nahman (the first lot in 1907)." As the evidence from the acquisition of both the papyri and the Coptic manuscripts thus points in the direction of 'Abd el-Nûr Ghabriyâl/Ghubriyâl, it is very likely that this is the Coptic dealer from whom De Rustafjaell bought the London half of the Patermouthis archive and several manuscripts in February 1907.

¹⁰² See also Von Pilgrim in Von Pilgrim et al. (n. 7) 122-123, for a brief summary of what follows.

¹⁰³ Müller (n. 96) 8.

¹⁰⁴ As is clear from a letter written a year later, on 24 September 1908, to the Königlische Museen in Berlin, in which Zucker asks to renew the permission given the year before to excavate the *kom* of Aswan. The document is included in Müller (n. 96) 50.

¹⁰⁵ Müller (n. 96) 8.

¹⁰⁶ Müller (n. 96) 14.

¹⁰⁷ As is clear from a letter, included in Müller (n. 96) 50, dated to 30 April 1909, in which Zucker writes that he has lost interest in any project in the Aswan region: "Eine Erneuerung der Grabungsanträge für Assuan und für Elephantine scheint mir nicht mehr von Wert zu sein."

southern part of the Late Antique town, exactly the part to which all topographical references in the papyri point, as we have seen above. This cannot be a coincidence and may be explained by the central figure of the archive, Flavius Patermouthis, son of Menas. Although he was at the same time a soldier in the regiment of Elephantine, Patermouthis was also a boatman by trade who lived with his family in Syene.¹⁰⁸ Even if not all documents in the archive can be related to Patermouthis and his family, the documents that mention the topography of Syene refer to the southern part of town. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that Patermouthis and his family lived there as well. When we lose track of Patermouthis in the papyrological record in 613, or shortly after, he probably died and the archive was deposited in or near his house, where it remained hidden until it was found almost thirteen centuries later in 1906 or 1907.¹⁰⁹ This findspot thus makes much more sense than one on Elephantine, as was once thought, and firmly puts the archive back where it belongs: in Aswan.

*Conclusion: The Patermouthis Archive and the Topography
of Late Antique Syene*

At the end of this article, a few concluding remarks are appropriate to show what we have achieved. In the first section we discussed a number of results from recent excavations at Aswan which give us an overview of the general layout of the Late Antique town, a result of the fact that the town wall can now be followed for the greater part of its extent. Another part of the town wall extended from the southeastern corner tower in the direction of what is now the “Feryal Garden,” thus dividing the town into a northern and a southern

¹⁰⁸ Patermouthis is first attested, as Aurelius Patermouthis, son of Menas, in a document dating to 578-582 (*PLond.* 5.1724.6-7 = D 32), where he is said to be from Syene. In documents between 583 and 613 he is a boatman from Syene (the first document is *PMünch.* 1.7.10-11 + *PLond.* 5.1860 = D 36.10-11, the last *PLond.* 5.1737.4-5, 28 = D 52). In 585 he is mentioned for the first time as a soldier of the regiment of Elephantine, and at this time he has also received the status designation Flavius (*PLond.* 5.1730.6-7 = D 41). He stays a soldier there until 613 (*PLond.* 5.1737.4 = D 52), with a brief intermittent period in 586 or 601 when he served in the regiment of Philae (*PLond.* 5.1732.1-2 = D 44). Cf. the overview by Keenan (n. 6) 143, who takes the Flavius Patermouthis, son of Menas, alias Benne, mentioned in a document from 581 (*PMünch.* 1.5.r.1 + *PLond.* 5.1726.5, 12 + *PMünch.* 1.4.47-48 + *PMünch.* 1.5.v.1 = D 34.1, 5, 12, 47-48, 59 (581) as the same individual, but this cannot be true. See Porten (n. 33) 486.

¹⁰⁹ *PLond.* 5.1737.4-5, 28 = D 52.

section. Three areas have been excavated which provide us with a detailed insight into the buildings in the northern part of town.

In the second section we combined these recent results with the already known topographical references in the Patermouthis archive. The wall dividing the Late Antique town of Syene reinforces the reference to the southern (and thus a northern) part of the Fortress in the Patermouthis archive. Because we know the course of the town wall we can conclude that these two were the only parts of Late Antique Syene and that the "Fortress" was simply a term used to describe the (fortified) town. No Late Antique layers have thus far been excavated in the southern part of town, but it seems that the church of Saint Victor mentioned in the archive cannot be identified with (parts of) the church complex on Kasr el-Hagar Street, because the latter lies in the northern part of town. It has been suggested that the building activities around this church may indicate that it is in fact the cathedral church, which is frequently mentioned in the papyri.

The third section is only loosely related to the foregoing, as it was argued that the place of origin of the Patermouthis archive should be sought in Aswan. It has been shown how in the past some papyrologists have taken over the account by De Rustafjaell about their findspot in Elephantine, whereas others have left a place of origin in either Aswan or Elephantine open. Proof that the Patermouthis archive was indeed found in Aswan is given by Rubensohn, who mentions the findspot of the archive in his diary as north of the Cataract Hotel, in the modern "Feryal Garden." On the basis of this passage, we have gained a clearer picture of how the papyri became dispersed between the two collections and, because the discovery of the papyri apparently was the direct cause of Rubensohn's, and later Zucker's, interest in excavating in Aswan, it can now also be placed within the excavation history of the city. Finally, the established findspot corresponds exactly to the topographical references in the papyri, which also point to the southern part of town, thus establishing a link with the previous sections of this article. It now appears that there is a direct relationship between the place of writing and the place of origin of the archive, and it may well have been that this was precisely because Patermouthis lived in this part of town. The papyri would then have been disposed of after his death in or near his house.

Together, these contributions to the study of the Patermouthis archive have shown that cooperation between archaeologists and papyrologists can be extremely fruitful. Thanks to our knowledge of a site, papyri that refer to a specific local landscape can be better understood. Furthermore, connections between archaeological and papyrological evidence can be made, although this article has also shown that there is not always a one-to-one relationship

between both types of evidence. For the archaeological remains for the part of Late Antique Syene that we are best informed about have been mostly lost. And, finally, the correspondence and ongoing dialogue between archaeologists and papyrologists can lead to interesting discoveries, such as the discovery of the findspot of the Patermouthis archive. It is this cross-fertilization of evidence that often leads, in my opinion, to the most fascinating results. That alone should be a reason to continue the dialogue.

Reviews

Sofia Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp, *To the Origins of Greek Stenography* (P.Monts.Roca I). Orientalia Montserratensia 1. Montserrat and Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat and Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006. 271 pages + 29 plates. ISBN 84-8415-847-0.

The book offers the first edition of a previously unknown long list of Greek words. It is preserved in a miscellaneous papyrus codex, which dates from the second half of the fourth century AD and is housed in the Abbey of Montserrat in Spain (P.Monts.Roca inv. nos. 126–178, 292, 338). The list comprises 2,368 entries, mostly consisting of a single word. The codex also contains classical texts in Latin (Cicero's *Catilinarians*, Latin hexameters on Alcestis, and a "Story about the Emperor Hadrian") as well as Christian liturgical texts in Greek ("Anaphora of Barcelona and other prayers," etc.) and Latin (a hymn to the Virgin Mary). The beginning of the codex probably contained one more work, which is now lost. The word list is written on the last folios of the codex. The variety of the works that make up the codex testifies to the multi-cultural society of fourth-century Egypt. The papyrus is written in a cursive hand, more common in documents than in literary papyri. Nevertheless, the script is pleasant to the eye and in general easy to read.

The book under review is divided into seven chapters. The first offers a detailed codicological description of the codex as well as some interesting remarks concerning its palaeographical features. The editors conclude convincingly that a single hand wrote both the Greek and Latin texts of the codex. Furthermore, they comment on the nearly non-existent evidence as to the original owner of the codex. Unfortunately, he or she cannot be identified with any known person, yet the hypothesis that it was an educated member of the local clergy in Egypt with an interest in the classical past seems reasonable in light of the works contained in the codex.

Chapter II offers a general introduction to the word list. Several aspects of it are discussed, such as its structure, the arrangement of the words within the list, the categories into which these words fall as well as the character and purpose of the list. The most interesting remark is the strong resemblance of our text to the *Greek Stenographic Manual* known as the κομენტάριον, which has come down to us mainly in the papyri published by H.J.M. Milne in his

Greek Shorthand Manuals: Syllabary and Commentary (Oxford 1934; abbreviated GSHM). In Milne's edition, established predominantly on the basis of two London papyrus codices (inv. 2561 [A] and 2562 [B]), the *Greek Stenographic Manual* provides a catalogue of 800 stenographic signs. These fall into eight groups of a hundred signs each. Each sign corresponds to a so-called tetrad, i.e. a group of four words, which are either synonyms or belong to the same semantic field or, when taken together, form meaningful sentences or parts of sentences. At the end of the κομεντάριον there is an additional list of ten signs, each corresponding to a pentad, i.e. a group of five words. It becomes clear that the Montserrat word list together with the papyri edited by Milne and some other minor stenographic papyri are in fact witnesses to the same *Greek Stenographic Manual*, which was in circulation in Late Antiquity and nowadays survives in different versions thanks to the papyri mentioned above. Furthermore, the editors rightly note the intriguing common material between the Montserrat list and the *Lexicon* of Hesychius of Alexandria. On the basis of this observation they come to the right conclusion that "at least common sources were used for the compilation of each work." In addition, they make several other important remarks on the sources of the Montserrat list and the *Commentary* in general, and suggest that these texts were rooted in the school practice of Late Antiquity. The chapter ends with a comprehensive list of the phonological phenomena observed in our papyrus as well as a list of words found in both the Montserrat list and the lexicon of Hesychius.

Chapter III contains the edition of the new word list from Montserrat. The text comprises six sub-lists, each of which contains around 400 entries. The sixth sub-list is incomplete. As the editors reasonably argue, two more sub-lists, now lost, might have existed. Within the sub-lists the words are arranged in a roughly alphabetical order according to their first letter. The edition of the text is excellent. The editors transcribed 2,368 entries with hardly any mistakes. Their transcription is reliable even in poorly preserved passages (e.g., ll. 2203–2217), because in addition to the editors' palaeographical expertise, their important discovery of the other versions enabled the decipherment and restoration of difficult and fragmentary passages. From a methodological point of view, I fully agree with the editors' decision to add no diacritical signs (most notably accents and breathings) to the text at this stage, since many entries can be interpreted in various ways.

A thorough checking of the whole text on my part resulted only in the following few minor corrections and remarks as regards the transcription: l. 94: the papyrus reads διατριβει, not διατριβι; between ll. 295 and 296, I can discern no deleted *diple obelismene* (⏏>———ο⏏); l. 482: without excluding the editors' reading δακνει, I would rather read δακνε; l. 1331: the papyrus has

εμφερει, not εκφερει; l. 1523: I read σινδονα instead of σινδονια; l. 1559: σκιρτα: the reading σχιρτα seems more probable; l. 1829: μητροπολους: I can see no -πο- on the plate; l. 2283: the papyrus has πελοπονησος, not πελοποννησος; between ll. 2301 (παραλαβων) and 2302 (παραχωρι) the editors skipped a line, which reads προλαβων; l. 2345: the papyrus has σογδιανοι, not σογδιανοι (the note in the app. crit.: “γ corr. ex ν” cannot be verified on the photo); l. 2362: I would suggest συνλαβωγ or συνλαβω[ν] (I cannot decide this on the basis of the photograph) instead of συνλαβω; on the verb forms present in our list, cf. the remarks of the editors on p. 28. Occasionally the editors do not indicate in the apparatus that the edited text is due to correction, most probably by the scribe himself; such cases can be found, for example, at lines 51: ακροαται; 252: οργης; 574: κληρονομος; 628: μεταπεμπεται; 2187: κολοφων.

Chapter IV contains a useful concordance of the variant readings of tetrads 1–600 of the *Greek Stenographic Manual*. These readings occur in the texts from which the manual in question can be reconstructed: the Montserrat word list, the texts edited by Milne, and the fragments of the minor stenographic papyri published in various places. It is particularly impressive that the editors improved many readings of the London papyri in *GSHM* and of the stenographic fragments from published photographs or images on the Internet. The newly discovered word list of Montserrat also allowed them to restore many lacunose passages.

Chapter V (pp. 123–164) offers a reconstruction of tetrads 1–600 of the *Greek Stenographic Manual*. The new edition marks significant progress over the previous condition of the text, since all witnesses to the manual mentioned above have been taken into consideration. The entries form groups of four words each. Occasionally there is an additional fifth word and rarely a sixth word.¹ The editors place these extra words in brackets to make them stand out. An important advantage of the new edition is that the whole text is rendered into a modern language for the first time. As the editors themselves admit, it is not always easy to make sense of each tetrad, yet their efforts to supply all tetrads with a “tentative translation” are commendable, especially when the lack of context is taken into account. The editors even dare to propose rather rare meanings for certain words, if these make for a better meaning of the tetrad as a whole; cf., e.g., the translation of the second part of tetrad 26: παρόντα ἔλεγε, ἤσυχος ὑπαρχε as “keep cautious” instead of the usual “keep quiet, keep still.” It is, however, only natural in an extensive text like this to find cases where an alternative interpretation would be preferable. Such cases, in which I would not fully agree with the translations provided in the edition,

¹ In the following, for the sake of brevity and unless a distinction is needed, I will call all these groupings “tetrads,” even if they are composed of more words.

concern the following tetrads: 54: ἀντίδικος δωροδοκεῖ κτλ.: the context forces us to interpret δωροδοκεῖ as “corrupts by bribes, gives bribes,” not “accepts bribes” (both meanings are given in LSJ s.v.); 58: πάντα περισσὸν φοβεῖται δειλός: περισσὸν should be understood as an adverb in the sense “exceedingly, more than necessary” (cf. LSJ s.v. B); the tetrad could be translated as follows: “A coward fears everything too much;” 136: εὐθύνεται should be followed by a comma, and the tetrad should be translated as: “a mean person (can) be guided straight (i.e. be corrected); an adulterer (remains) in subjection;” 170: there is no reason to translate κοιμᾶται as “he dies,” since its literary meaning “he sleeps” fits much better the context of the particular tetrad, which mentions the mandrake; cf., e.g., Xen. *Symp.* 2. 24: τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν λύπας, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ φιλοφροσύνας, ὥσπερ ἔλαιον φλόγα, ἐγείρει; 251: The phrase μεταμέλεται ζημιωθείς should be interpreted as “changes his mind when punished” instead of “regrets that he has been punished.”

A serious blemish in Chapter V is the considerable number of errors in the accentuation of the Greek; such mistakes can be found, for example, in the following tetrads (the list is not complete): 9: ἵλαρος; 13: ἡδονῆς, θύμου; 18: νάον; 21: συμβαλλόμενος; 26: πάροντα; 33: δοκίμασας, κρείσσον; 44: ἀποδός, ὀφείλην; 57: κόλοβον; 58: δειλός; 59: ἔχθροις; 62: μητῆρ; 65: ὁμοῖος (even if this form occurs in Hom., Ion., and old Att.; cf. LSJ s.v.); 73: σημαίνει; 79: ἵταμος; 80: λήστης, φύγων; 81: μηχανάται, πείθει; 85: εἶδων; 94: προαίρεται; 96: προείπων, εἶπων; 100: καίνην; 109: πρεσβεῖς, ὁμονοίαν; 118: φύλη; 125: στῆσας; 129: δέσμον; 134: συνηγόρος; 137: μάλακος, κιναίδος, μάλαθακος; 142: ὄρφανος; 144: μάστροφος; 155: ἴσχια; 156: ἄγκων; 185: σκῆνη; 196: σφῆξ; 210: Πάλλας; 225: ὄχυρα; 258: θυγατῆρ; 273: πόσακις; 283: κυρίον; 294: προσέλθων; 300: ἀκραίφνης, ἔσθλος; 301: πληρῆς; 304: Αἴγυπτω; 305: προφητῆς; 311: σίτον; 312: σκέδασας; 319: σκόλιος; 334: σκίαν; 339: κτύπει (cf. its translation as “he plays,” which shows that the form has been taken as an indicative); 347: λάξος; 348: ὄκνων; 371: πελτην; 386: μύχος; 446: βλοσυρώς, διακεῖται; 460: μολῶν; 524: Παταρεῖς; 526: Ταραντινοί; 527: Φιλομηλεῖς; 535: Ἐγεσταῖοι, Θισβαῖοι; 536: Ἐρυμναῖοι; 595: θρίγκος.² A check of LSJ would have saved the editors these annoying mistakes without taking up much time.

Chapter VI offers a useful commentary on particular issues, including textual criticism and parallels to rare words. One might note that a few more explanations regarding the translation would have been helpful. Chapter VII

² Similar mistakes can be found in other parts of the book as well (cf., e.g., στῶθεν instead of στῶθέν on p. 189), but their number there is restricted. In addition, there are many cases of confusion of the acute and the grave, which is one of the most common errors in text editions nowadays; cf., e.g., Chapter V, tetrads 200, 268, 274, 337, 368 (twice), 372, 387, 430, 441, 458, 470, 544, 590.

conveniently presents an alphabetical index of the words in the Montserrat list following their original spelling. They are accompanied by references to their number in the list, the corresponding number in Milne's edition, the standard lexicon entry, and the corresponding lemma in Hesychius' *Lexicon* (editions of K. Latte and P.A. Hansen and of M. Schmidt) as long as there are parallels to the particular entries. The book concludes with a bibliography and plates, which include photographs of the entire word list of Montserrat as well as three additional reproductions of other characteristic parts of the codex.

This is a particularly good publication. It is only natural that not all questions could have been answered here. Future research is expected to expand our knowledge of the nature of the text, especially as regards its sources and the interrelationship between the tetrads. Already at pp. 33–35 the editors offer some valuable preliminary remarks on the importance of works belonging to the tradition of schooltexts, such as paroemiography (proverbs, *sententiae*), comedy and oratory, as well as of medical texts, as sources of our list and of the *Greek Stenographic Manual* in general. At pp. 165–167 they suggest that the tetrads form groups based on their meaning. More can be done to improve our understanding of the relations of the words and the tetrads to each other. As an example for other thematic cycles that remain unidentified, I would like to draw attention to tetrads 324–326, which, I believe, draw on Euripides' *Bacchae*.³ In the following, I reproduce the text of the edition and add the references to the *Bacchae* passages in parenthesis:

- 324. Βάκχη (passim; e.g. tit., 83, 152, 153, 577, 674, 735, 759, 915, 940, 942 etc.), βωμός (1359) / τέμενος, Βρόμιος (passim; e.g. 66, 84, 87, 115, 140 etc.), τύμπανα (59, 156).
- 325. Σάτυρος (130), νεβρίς (24, 111, 136–137, 249, 696), Ληναῖος, θίασος (56, 115, 135, 221, 532, 558, 584, 680, 978, 1180).
- 326. ζάκορος εὐάζει (67, 1034), Κορύβας (125), Ἰακχος (725).

It should be noted that only two words out of twelve are not to be found in that tragedy, namely Ληναῖος and ζάκορος. It is noteworthy that these two words, like the rest, relate to Dionysus and Dionysiac worship and thus accord very well with the central theme of the three tetrads. Regarding the variants βωμός and τέμενος (tetrad 324), handed down to us by the Montserrat word list and Milne's papyri respectively, the editors note that both "fit equally well into the context," while giving slight preference to the latter (p. 186). From the establishment of the relationship between the tetrad in question and the *Bac-*

³ At p. 166 the editors note that tetrads 324–329 contain epithets of Dionysus and his cult and give as parallel *AP* 9.524, without mentioning the *Bacchae*.

chae it can be gathered that the correct reading at l. 324 is βωμός, which occurs in the *Bacchae*; on the contrary, τέμενος, which does not occur there, should not be considered as the reading of the original manual. Observations of this sort further underline the significance of the new papyrus. A closer analysis of the text may reveal more examples for similar groupings of the tetrads.

An equally interesting area of research would be the examination of the problems surrounding the fifth and the sixth words which occasionally complete the group of the four words that build a tetrad, and the ways they are formed. One could, for example, look at the loan-words from Latin as well as the terms connected with the Roman administration and institutions that are used as fifth words and may be regarded as later insertions (cf., e.g., 15: δικαιοδότης [= *juridicus*]; 34: σκρίνιον; 50: φαμιλία; 54: ἀμβιπιονάριος; 64: ῥεγερενδάριος; 146: στατιωνάριος; 199: ταβερνάριος; 213: πιμεντάριος; 214: κανδήλα). Furthermore, the relations of the fifth words with the respective tetrads are also worth investigating. As a rule, the fifth word is associated with the tetrad or one of its parts. The relationship functions mostly on the semantic level.⁴ However, there can also be a purely phonetic⁵ or morphological⁶ connec-

⁴ Cf. 15: δίκαια/δικαιοδότης; 16: τίμα/ἐντιμον; 20: σπονδάς/οἰνόσπονδος; 21: συμβάλου/συμβαλλομάχος; 28: παίδευε τέκνα/παιδαγωγός; 30: θύων/θυσιαστήριον; 31: μείλιχα/δυσμείλικτος; 35: δῖωκε/ἐργοδιώκτης; 36: ἐπιστολήν/πιττάκιον; 37: δίδασκε/διδάσκαλος; 38: πολέμιον/πολέμαρχος; 39: ἐναντίον/δι' ἐναντίας; 43: ἐπικούρει/σύμπονος; 46: ψυχαγωγεῖ/ὁμόψυχος; 47: καλῶς/καλός καὶ ἀγαθός; 62: βαστάζει βρέφος μήτηρ/γαλακτίζει; 90: πορφύραν/πορφυροπώλης; 105: ὕπατος/ἀνθύπατος; 110: συνθήκας/συνθηκοφύλαξ; 114: δισκεύει/δισκοβόλος; 124: δηνάριον/φόλλεις; 126: ζυγός/ζυγοστάτης; 132: ἀγαπᾷ, ἐρᾷ, ποθεῖ, γλίχεται/Φίλιππος; 134: συνήγορος/δικασθεῖς; 137: μαλακός/μαλθακός; 144: μαστροφός, πόρνη/πορνοβοσκός; 146: στασιάζει/στατιωνάριος; 199: κάπηλος/ταβερνάριος; 200: ὕδωρ/ὕδραγώγιον; 208: λιμήν/λιμενάρχης; 210: Παλλὰς/τριτογένεια; 222: ἄρμα ἐλαύνει, ἥνία, φιμοί/ἥνιοχος; 225: παρεμβολή, ὄχυρά/κάστραν; 226: τάξις/ταξίαρχης; 231: τέμνει ὀξύ ξίφος/μάχαιρα; 241: λειτουργός/συλλειτουργός; 246: ναυπηγός, κέρκουρος/καλαφάτης; 251: ζημιωθείς/ὑπέρογκος; 254: βάσκανος/σπερμολόγος; 264: κακός/κακοτεχνεῖται; 266: γέρδιος ποικίλως ὑφαίνει/πλουμάριος; 293: μάχεται/διαμάχεται and ἐντυχών/ἐντευξεις; 335: νύμφην/νυμφίος; 350: θεωρεῖ/θέατρον; 379: στραβός, τυφλός/παράστραβος; 380: τύμβος/τυμβωρύχος; 388: σαγήνη, φελλός, δόναξ, δίκτυον/τρίγλα; 400: σχίζεται/σχάστης; 473: πίνος/πιναροπώλης, πιναροποιός (?); 490: σκαμβός, χωλός, λοζός, κυρτός/παραλυτικός; 556: διαδέχεται/διάδοχος; 600: ἡμικάδιον/κάδος.

⁵ Cf. 32: φείδου/φιδεικόμισσον; 65: ἴσος/Ἰσοκράτης; 115: κροτεῖ/ἵππον/Ἰπποκράτης; 133: κόρην βιάζεται/κορύπτωρ; 204: αὐγή/αὐγουστος; 246: τρίβος/συντριβή; 401: Λύκιος/Λυκοῦργος; 500: φάραγξ/Φάρος.

⁶ In these cases the extra word is a compound one, one part of which is identical with a word or part of a compound word that belongs to the original tetrad; e.g. 61: ὑποπτεύει/κατοπτεύει; 63: πηδᾷ/ἐπιπηδᾷ; 100: ὑπόπτερον/χρυσόπτερον; 147: ὑποδεής/ἀνευδεής; 244: ὀλιγαρχεῖ/ὀλιγανθρωπία; 251: ὑπερόπτης/αὐτόπτης; 299: ὁμορος/

tion. The relationship can sometimes be very close (as in the case of synonyms⁷) or distant.⁸ Sometimes the fifth word reveals the basic idea behind a tetrad, like the key to an enigma.⁹ In a few cases no apparent connection exists.¹⁰ Many cases reveal beyond any doubt that the fifth word was the product of a later re-working, such as pentad 401: the first four words (Ἀπόλλων, Δελφός, Φοῖβος, Λύκιος) form a homogenous group, whereas the fifth word (Λυκοῦργος) is only phonetically connected to the fourth. Such observations could further illuminate the character of our text.

Finally, future research should discuss the scope of the *Greek Stenographic Manual* in depth. It could be argued that it was a stenographic compendium with a practical character for use in certain sections of private or social life, such as the composition of judicial proceedings. However, it seems to me more probable that the manual was intended for philological-literary use. This is suggested by the large number of words that occur only in literary texts, while they are not attested in documents and were not part of everyday vocabulary or technical jargon. A careful analysis of the vocabulary can lead to firm conclusions in this area.

The editors are to be warmly congratulated not only for the high quality of their edition of, and commentary on, the word list of Montserrat, but also because they have considerably advanced our knowledge of ancient stenography. Their praiseworthy publication will no doubt help make further progress in this field in the coming years.¹¹

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δύσμορος; 557: ἀριστοποιεῖται etc./ἐμποιεῖται; cf. also 487: ἀντιγράφει, ἐγγράφει etc./ὑπομνηματογράφος.

⁷ Cf. 22: συγγενή/σύναιμος; 175: τάλας/ταλαιπώρος; 494: κύθρα/κάκκαβος; 558: προασπιστής/ὑπερασπιστής and παρασπιστής/συνασπιστής.

⁸ For examples in which the link is rather loose, cf., e.g., the cases of 47, 132, 146, 251, 254 and 350 mentioned above (n. 4).

⁹ Cf. 261: μαίνεται, ἐνθουσιᾷ, ὀδύρεται, λυσσᾷ/ῖαμβος and 344: παρθένον Περσεύς πτηνός ρύεται/Ἄνδρομέδα.

¹⁰ Cf. 33; 34; 50; 54; 60; 88; 230; 245; 447; 452; 539; 543; 552; 554.

¹¹ PS: During the correction of the proofs, D. Kaltsas, "Kritische und exegetische Beiträge zu den Papyri des tachygraphischen Lehrbuchs," *ZPE* 161 (2007) 215-251, came out. It indeed makes "further progress."

Kathleen McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt*. American Studies in Papyrology 45. American Society of Papyrologists 2007. xvii + 577 pages + 33 plates. ISBN 978-0-9700591-7-8.

Kathleen McNamee's work on marginal annotations in papyri is well known, not least from her unpublished 1977 dissertation, which has the peculiar honor of being found in bound or microfilmed form in nearly every major papyrological library. Her subsequent publications have added greatly to our knowledge and understanding of literary papyrology, but none of them has rendered the dissertation obsolete – and the same is true of the current volume.

This work is a mighty tome containing not only a complete corpus of annotations in literary papyri, but also the definitive study of those annotations and what they reveal about the history of reading, teaching, and scholarship. It is an excellent book that both provides a solid, reliable account of what we know about ancient marginalia in general and advances the boundaries of that knowledge in a constructive and convincing fashion.

The corpus of marginalia, which occupies nearly 400 pages, is the core of the book and contains “all but the most desperately fragmentary marginal and interlinear comments in the texts we have from Graeco-Roman Egypt.” This material is more voluminous than one would think: the corpus includes almost three hundred different annotated papyri containing between them about two thousand separate notes. For each of these McNamee provides a text, translation (except in very fragmentary cases), and notes. The texts are normally those of earlier editors, but some corrections and conjectures have been made. It would have been better if McNamee had given more information about whose version of each papyrus she was following: often her text differs significantly from that of the original edition because she is following a later editor, but in many cases she neither gives a reference to that later editor nor indicates that other editors have read the text differently. Whenever I checked, however, I found that she was in fact using the best text available and reporting its readings accurately. The translations are generally her own, as few other scholars have had the courage to attempt them, and are very good.

The corpus is organized for maximum efficiency on the part of the user and sets new standards in that respect. Resisting the temptation to immortalize herself at readers' expense by giving her own number to each entry, McNamee has arranged the corpus largely by Mertens-Pack numbers (though some papyri not yet in MP³ are also included). She has also devised a system of marginal signs worthy of Aristarchus, so that readers can see at a glance

what type of material the notes on a particular page contain (e.g. confirmation of a textual reading, attributed textual variant, metaphor, stage directions, etymology, meter, myth, proverbs, astronomy, music, etc.), as well as whether they include a citation or quotation. Having this type of material arranged to stand out makes it easy to skim through the huge corpus looking for particular types of note, and also enables readers with less expertise than McNamee (i.e. all of us) to tell with confidence what she thought the note was about. Perhaps she has made mistakes in some of these classifications – not that I spotted any, but given the fragmentary nature of many notes it would be nearly impossible not to make some mistakes – but the disadvantage of being misled in such cases is more than compensated for by the advantage of knowing exactly what an expert who has studied the note carefully thinks it is about. Readers used to dealing with works produced with less editorial courage will be very grateful for McNamee's willingness to put herself on record this way.

Another useful aid to the reader is a set of tables at the end of the corpus, listing for each papyrus information such as its date, provenance, format, length and frequency of notes, sigla, hand of notes, and use of diacritics. The tables enable one to look efficiently for all the papyri in the corpus that fall into a particular category and again will save readers much time and energy. There is also a concordance listing the papyri in alphabetical order by original publication or inventory number.

The corpus is accompanied by thirty-three plates. Of course even such a large number represents only a small percentage of the papyri involved, but the plates are generally well chosen to show particularly useful images. Unfortunately many images are somewhat fuzzy, and some of them are less legible than photographs of the same papyri published elsewhere.

Most of the texts in the corpus are very short and/or very fragmentary, and at first sight they seem generally unpromising. Nevertheless McNamee has extracted a remarkable amount of information from them, not by speculation and extrapolation but with a solid grounding in the evidence. The results of her analysis, which are both interesting and convincing, are presented with admirable clarity in the study with which the book opens. In this study McNamee does not confine herself to annotations in papyri, which cannot be understood in isolation from ancient *hypomnemata* and medieval scholia, but considers how these different types of text are related. She also considers the links between the commentaries/annotations on ancient literary texts and those on medical, legal, and Biblical texts. This holistic approach allows her to reach a much better understanding of the history of literary scholarship in late antiquity than is possible from a narrower perspective: for example in the development of the medieval scholia she argues convincingly for a process

that began with legal texts (specifically Latin legal texts studied through the medium of Greek) and spread from there to other types of text, including literature (chapter 9).

Other interesting observations in this section include documentation of “deep-rooted ancient conservatism in literary matters generally” as illustrated by verbatim links between annotations made a millenium apart (p. 53), the fact that “notes focus exclusively on the Graeco-Roman experience and give no indication of the multilingual, multiracial Egypt in which the books were produced and used” (p. 30), the progression of schoolchildren from making no annotations at the elementary stages to more and more notes at more advanced levels (p. 73), the sharp difference in content between ancient commentaries on Plato and those on other authors (p. 122), and the almost complete absence of personal notes in ancient books (p. 23). These observations are not new, but they have not previously been made with such force or backed up by such a convincing body of evidence, and as we tend not to think about such issues and their implications, the attention McNamee draws to them is welcome.

Other points are new or more contentious, for example the suggestion that it was rare in antiquity to make notes in the margins of a book during lectures (p. 20) and evidence that marginal notes did not gradually increase in length or density over time (p. 53).

The study is generally user-friendly, with lots of subheadings to enable readers to find discussion of specific issues and a good summary of conclusions at the end of each section. However it would have been more user-friendly had translations of all the Greek texts quoted been provided.

The volume also contains a very up-to-date bibliography and detailed indices. The latter are perhaps too highly classified, into 11 different indices; having e.g. separate indices of Greek words for the introduction and the corpus was perhaps not the most helpful of choices. But they contain a number of particularly useful features, such as the indexing of significant references to modern literature, which enables one to find with ease McNamee’s response to various scholars’ claims and her position on current debates (e.g. there are 44 references to H. Maehler).

The quality of the book’s production, unfortunately, is not as good as the quality of the scholarship. Minor slips and typographical errors, though not frequent, are more common than they should be and include wrong cross-references and wrong line numbers as well as some confusing English sentences. However, I made an extensive check of the Greek texts in the corpus and could not find a single error, so the book can be relied upon where it really counts. Only half the URLs I tried to follow up worked (though the fault here may not lie with the book, and in all cases it was possible to find the sites concerned

with a minimum of further effort). Inconsistencies of labelling and format are at times confusing, particularly in the corpus where everything is condensed and the unpredictable layout makes it easy to confuse translation with commentary, or worse yet to splice part of one into part of the other.

Despite these minor flaws, the book is a model of good scholarship and consideration for readers. It is certain to be the definitive work on this subject for many years to come.

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Eleanor Dickey

Tomas Hägg and Bo Utas, *The Virgin and Her Lover: Fragments of an Ancient Greek Novel and a Persian Epic Poem*. Brill Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures 30. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003. xii + 278 pages + 6 plates. ISBN 90-04-13260-0.

In this impressive volume, Tomas Hägg, a Classical philologist (University of Bergen), and Bo Utas, a specialist in Iranian literature (University of Uppsala), propose the sort of research most Classicists can only dream about. A scholar who masters Greek literature and an Oriental literature influenced by it (e.g., Coptic, Persian, Syriac, Arabic, or Ethiopian) might discover literary works derived from Greek originals, including texts now lost. The *Metiochus and Parthenope Romance* (hereafter *M&P*), dated no later than Lucian, and perhaps, as Dihle suggested,¹ as early as the first century BCE, is an early quasi-historical romance, of which only ca. 140 often incomplete lines survive in four fragments, three papyri and an ostrakon, in addition to the literary testimonia and the mosaics from Daphne-Harbie and Zeugma-Belkis (ca. 200 CE). But *M&P* has had an extraordinary *Nachleben* in oriental literatures, and oriental texts can help reconstruct the original *M&P* and provide insight into how Greek works were transmitted and altered in the Orient. Most notably, in the eleventh century some adaptation of *M&P* furnished major plot elements for the Persian verse epic *Vāmiq u 'Adhrā* (hereafter *V&A*) by the Persian court poet 'Unṣurī (died ca. 1040 CE).

This volume's primary objective (p. 2) is to provide a complete critical edition, with a text, translation and commentary, on the surviving texts of *M&P* and *V&A*. Included are 151 isolated double verses of 'Unṣurī's in the same meter as *V&A*, which have been preserved in Persian lexical treatises. The authors also seek to locate supplementary material pertaining to *M&P/V&A* and their characters and to better delineate the afterlife of *M&P*, as well as to understand the process by which *V&A* and later works derived from *M&P*. The authors attempt a reconstruction of *M&P* based on surviving Greek fragments, the Persian material and other supplementary material. This volume is designed to be accessible to a wide variety of scholarly audiences, and thus the authors have striven for (and, in this reviewer's opinion, succeeded) in providing details that are copious but not unduly speculative or specialized.

Chapter One ("Introduction"), after summarizing the volume's content and goals, details the discovery of the fragments of *M&P* and the subsequent scholarship on them, including Hägg's proposal that the *Martyrdom of St.*

¹ A. Dihle, "Zur Datierung des Metiochos-Romans," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, N.F. 4 (1978) 54-55.

Bartānūbā in part derived from *M&P* (see below). We learn how scholars recognized the Greek antecedents to *V&A* and began to examine its relation to those antecedents and to other works of Persian and other Oriental literatures. We also learn about the (problematical) recovery/reconstruction of 372 double verses of 'Unşurī's epic plus the other verses of 'Unşurī found in the lexical collections. *V&A* was a popular story ('Unşurī's version was only the earliest), and dozens of works entitled *V&A* arose, some with little or no similarity to *V&A* or *M&P*. Further, *V&A* is set in the reign of Dārāb (Darius II) and the adventures of the erotic protagonists supposedly occurred in Greece. Yet not until Büchner's work² were the similarities between *V&A* and Greek romance commented upon. The authors describe their researches on *M&P* and *V&A*, including a further study of the *Nachleben* of *M&P* and *V&A* extending to a Turkish version of Lāmi'ī (seventeenth century) which was popularized by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. This scholar himself wrote a verse romance in 1833 derived from this text in which, according to the authors "the two lovers seem to be used as substitutes for the Orientalist himself and a certain Dame du Palais, Flora von Wrba" (p. 20).

Chapter Two ("The Greek Sources"), section a, contains a text, translation, papyrological and literary commentary with a selective apparatus and bibliography on all the extant fragments of *M&P*.³ With one minor exception, this edition is not based on any new inspection of the papyri. The Greek text differs from that found in Stephens and Winkler in being "generally more cautious in accepting or suggesting supplements of the lacunae." The text of López Martínez⁴ is also employed. Comments come through footnotes to the translation and in a brief commentary that follows each fragment. The commentary justifies (where needed) the text as part of *M&P*, and gives many solid suggestions as to what characters, actions, speakers, etc. are presented in the passage, and how the passage fits in with the known or conjectured plot of *M&P*. There are additional valuable comments on geographical, historical, lexical and literary matters, including a few suggestions for new textual readings.

Section b collects the references to *M&P* itself, those found in Dionysios Perigetes as well as in a scholion and commentary on him by Eustathios. Next is considered Lucian's reference to pantomimes and/or other theatrical or rhetorical performances involving Metiochus and Parthenope. Finally, there is an introduction, a translation (with no Greek text) and brief commentary on the passages of Herodotus which concern Polycrates, Metiochus and other relevant characters who might have appeared in *M&P*.

² V.F. Büchner, "'Unşurī," *Enzyklopädie des Islams* 4:1107-1108.

³ P.Mich. inv. 3402 verso is illustrated as Fig. 5; *O.Bodl.* 2.2175 as Fig. 4.

⁴ M.P. López Martínez, *Fragmentos papiáceos de novela griega* (Alicante 1998).

Section c provides a description and discussion of the Roman-era mosaics from Syria, and considers whether they depict scenes from *M&P* or some dramatic performance, and, if inspired by the romance, where these scenes might be placed.

Section d concerns the *Martyrdom of Bartānūbā*/*St. Parthenope* (= *MSP*), the tale of an incredibly beautiful and devout young girl who becomes a nun at 12, defends her virtue against two powerful men (Constantine and a barbarian king) and finally, to avoid marriage, through trickery kills herself in a bonfire. While Hägg suggested in 1984 that the Arabic *MSP* derived from *M&P*, only the publication of the Coptic fragment by Coquin⁵ confirmed this hypothesis. The authors provide a detailed introduction, a translation (but no original text) of the superior Arabic version, and where it overlaps, run it in parallel with a translation (but no original text) of the surviving Coptic text, which the Arabic text follows fairly closely.

Chapter Three ("The Persian Sources"), section a, describes the surviving pages containing *V&A* which were found by Mohammad Shafi glued as stiffening into the binding of a later theological work. These pages of *V&A* were arranged and initially published with critical notes by Shafi in 1967.⁶ The later edition by Kaladze⁷ is "only a photographic reprint of the text of Shafi" (p. 77). The pages containing *V&A* dates no earlier than the early twelfth century CE. The authors had to rely solely on the photographs and commentary of Shafi and Kaladze, which had numerous and severe organizational shortcomings. Through a proper rearrangement of fragments some new readings have been achieved by the authors.

The authors publish the Persian text (with a somewhat modernized orthography) with a facing English translation. The authors demarcate what is clearly visible on the photos and what are Shafi's conjectures and reconstructions. Footnotes give additional information about numbers of lines or words thought missing, what part of a line is readable, and so forth. Footnotes to the translation comment on names and their reconstruction (e.g. *Ṭūfān* = Theophanes or Thouphanes), unfamiliar items (e.g. *rūd* = a type of harp), explanations of unfamiliar metaphors, similes and allusions (e.g. "laughing corals" = "lips"), plus literary, archaeological and historical commentary, including some comparisons with elements found in other Greek romances.

⁵ R.G. Coquin, "Le roman de Παρθενόπη/Bartānūbā (ms. *IFAO*, *Copte* 22, ff^o 1^{r-v} 2^r)," *Bulletin du Centenaire, Supplément au Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, T. 81 (Le Caire 1981) 343-358.

⁶ M. Shafi, *Wāmiq-o-Adhrā of 'Unsurī* (Lahore 1967).

⁷ I. Kaladze, *Epicheskoe nasledie Unsuri* (Tbilisi 1983).

The commentary covers the text's passages, scenes and events, discussing how the fragment represents an early section of the tale, before the lovers are separated, but not the romance's very beginning. They also suggest what might have been in the lacunae and consider the identity of various names and function of some characters. Literary matters are touched on, such as settings, plot developments, construction of scenes and characters and changes in narrative focus. The authors provide comparanda with other Greek novels and other texts and much else. Of particular interest is the narrative of the marvelous childhood of Ādhrā and her father king Fuluqrāṭ (= Polycrates) who trusts his daughter so much that he lets her command his armies.

Chapter 3, section b, provides a text and translation of a section of the *Dārāb-nāmah*, the name given to two collections of legendary narratives about Dārāb (= Darius II). There Ādhrā tells her life story to a pious Greek Hirānqālis (a restored name = Heraklias?) a former pupil of Aflātūn (= Plato no less!) who has bought her along with Ṭamrūsiyah, the former mistress of Dārāb. Hearing her story Hirānqālis recognizes Ādhrā as the daughter of Fuluqrāṭ and frees her. He also promises to take her to her beloved Vāmiq. Her story presumably sums up much of the plot of *M&P*, except for the lover's reunion. The authors provide a good introduction to the *Dārāb-nāmah* but otherwise provide little commentary. The footnotes largely serve to show where the edition of the manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 4615) varied from the edition of Dhabīḥu'llāh Ṣafā (Tehran 1344) they use.

Chapter 3, section c, provides a text, translation and fairly brief commentary on 151 verses ascribed to 'Unṣurī found in Persian lexical works. The authors provide an introduction to these lexical texts and their problems, and show where there are significant variations in the verses and in spelling. However, there has been no attempt to determine which are the better readings. The authors base their compilation on collections made earlier by Shafi (n. 6) and Kaladze (n. 7) who only identified 45 verses as securely belonging to V&A, although additional verses are attributed to V&A in other sources. The authors identify those verses which Kaladze thought belonged securely to V&A and those which only might belong to V&A, as well as a few verses attributed to V&A or to 'Unṣurī by other scholars. For each of the 151 verses the authors provide a text, a translation, a list of the sources which include this verse, an apparatus showing some variant readings, and, for some verses, a brief commentary similar to that which was given for V&A.

Section d's concordance identifies which of the verses in the authors' collection correspond to which verses in the collection of Shafi and which also correspond to verses found in the large fragment of V&A.

Section e provides a conspectus of names, demonstrating how Greek names tend to change as they came over into Arabic and Persian. Five columns give (1) the literal transcription of a name ('' QWS); (2) the Greek equivalent (sometimes marked with an ? to indicate uncertainty) (Aiakes), (3) the location of the name (e.g., PT108); (4) comments, some of which require the reader to go back to the cited verse and its commentary in order to understand them; (5) the rendered Persian name, with question marks where the reconstruction is problematical (Āqūs).

Chapter 4 ("Transformation of the Text") considers how *M&P* became *V&A*, especially what intermediate texts might have existed. By the first century CE, an ostrakon suggests *M&P* was already well known enough to be used as a school exercise. Evidence for *M&P* all comes from the Eastern half of the Empire, and *MSP* seems to be connected to Coptic- and then Arabic-speaking Christians in Egypt and the East. The authors believe that, just as Chariton's *Callirhoe*, apparently unknown to Photius, was preserved on a thirteenth-century Syrian manuscript, so copies of *M&P* continued to be made in the East until a date close to that of *V&A*'s composition. While oral versions of *M&P/V&A* possibly existed, a comparison of passages and names convinces the authors that 'Unşurî had a written version (either Persian or Arabic) of some version of *M&P*. Where 'Unşurî got his version is unclear, but the authors make plausible conjectures. Clearly at some point *M&P/V&A* became part of the evolving oral narrative tradition, which is further complicated by the fact that the names Vāmiq and 'Adhrā ("Ardent Lover," "Virgin") are generic, and, thus, with time, many narratives arise which are called "*V&A*" but have little or no obvious relationship to 'Unşurî's work. The authors summarize other narratives with the title *V&A* not only in Persian (at least 14 versions), but in Turkish and even in Hindi, which introduce many odd new elements. Many of these romances have tragic endings, especially the Hindi one, where 'Adhrā dies by climbing on her husband's funeral pyre.

In chapter 5 ("Reconstruction of the Plot"), the authors attempt an (admittedly speculative) reconstruction of *M&P*'s plot, first summarizing to what extent each of the fragments and testimonia are valuable; *V&A* is probably the most useful, although even the independent lexical verses play an important role. Their suggestions for the reconstruction are generally solid.

Finally, in chapter 6 ("Problems and Challenges"), the authors outline further work to be done, from reexamining the text of *V&A* to a further tracing of the traditions of stories of "The Virgin and Her Lover" through various languages and cultures. This is an extremely important volume for those interested in the Greek romance, in Persian literature, and especially in the way elements of the Greek and Roman traditions came over into Eastern literatures.

It also illustrates the enormous potential for new discoveries concerning Greek literature awaiting a fuller exploration of such eastern texts. I hope in the future we may be able to see many collaborations of this kind.

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Jean Alvares

Tatiana Gammacurta, *Papyrologica scaenica. I copioni teatrali nella tradizione papiracea*. Hellenica 20. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2006. vii + 294 pages. ISBN 88-7694-919-4.

In this study, based on her 2006 doctoral thesis at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan, Gammacurta (hereafter G.) catalogues and analyzes the Greek papyri of dramatic texts which show evidence of use in performance. The work is divided into two parts: a study of the available papyrological evidence (pp. 1-235), and a summary and discussion of the material (pp. 239-276). A brief conclusion and an appendix analyzing two musical papyri (*P.Oxy.* 53.3705 and *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59533) round off the work (pp. 277-281).

The catalogue in the first part groups the available evidence into three categories:

(1) ten papyri containing actors' sigla (*P.Oxy.* 3.413; *P.Hibeh* 2.180; *MPER* NS 3.22; *PSI* 10.1176; *P.Ryl.* 3.484; *P.Berol.* inv. 13876; *P.Berol.* inv. 21119; *P.Vars.* 2; *P.Lond.Lit.* 97; and *P.Oxy.* 27.2458).

(2) two papyri containing stage directions (*P.Hamb.* 2.120 and *P.Oxy.* 36.2746).

(3) eleven musical papyri, with accompaniment mainly to tragedy (*P.Vindob.* inv. G 2315; *P.Leid.* inv. 510; *P.Vindob.* inv. G 29825; *P.Oxy.* inv. 89 B/31, 33; *P.Oslo* inv. 1413; *P.Oxy.* 25.2436; *P.Mich.* inv. 2958; *P.Yale* inv. 4510; *P.Berol.* inv. 6870; *P.Oxy.* 44.3161; and *P.Oxy.* 44.3162).

The texts are presented chronologically within each category, with the exception of nos. 1 and 13, which are given first within their categories because of their importance. The dates of the texts range from the first half of the third century BCE to the third century CE. The preponderance (if one can use that word, given such a depressingly small corpus of texts spread over such a long time span) comes from the Roman period. Each text is prefaced with a useful outline giving its name and number; its catalogue number in *MP*³ and *LDAB*; date and place of provenance; material and format; dimensions; lay-out of the text; palaeographical features; typology of the text; genre; content; and bibliography. Editions, photos, and studies are arranged here alphabetically rather than chronologically, which is something of a nuisance for anyone wishing to track the ongoing discussion of a particular text. This is followed by an introduction to the text, the text itself, and analysis and discussion.

There are some methodological problems with this strict division into three categories because at least three of the texts cited show more than one type of notation. While only two papyri are listed in group 2 in the catalogue as texts with stage directions, *P.Oxy.* 3.413, *P.Berol.* inv. 13876, and *P.Lond.Lit.*

97, which appear only in group 1, are also equipped with stage directions as well as actors' sigla. They appear as such in the table on p. 251, but nowhere in the first part of the book is there any indication given that they also provide evidence for stage directions.

In the second part of the book (pp. 239-281), G. gives her conclusions. In Chapter 1, "Paleografia e aspetto materiale," she again makes the important point, already noted in her introduction (p. 2), that in terms of their handwriting and their many corrections and additions, these papyri share characteristics with both documentary and literary texts, having one foot in both camps, as it were. In the first section of this chapter, a discussion of the actors' sigla (pp. 240-247), she notes the contribution which the texts in this group provide to our knowledge of the dogged survival of the so-called "three actor rule." Her tabulation on p. 247 shows that while the number of actors in tragedies continued to be limited to three, and comedy employed only a fourth actor, mime companies were much more numerous and perhaps also included a non-professional "chorus" on occasions.

In the second section of this chapter (pp. 248-251), G. discusses the various forms which stage directions may take and what they indicate. Generally inserted into the text, they are sometimes written out in full, sometimes abbreviated, and sometimes given in the form of symbols. It is a great pity that G. did not add an index of these terms and symbols for easier reference. In the third section, on musical notation (pp. 252-257), she summarizes the development of the standardized form of melodic notation using the Ionic alphabet which can be traced back to the alphabet's adoption at Athens in 403/2 BCE. Alongside this there was also a system of rhythmical notation. As G. notes, both rhythmic and melodic notation are absent from the manuscript tradition, giving these papyri a unique importance as the only direct testimony for ancient Greek music. In the final section, "Uso contemporaneo di *recto e verso*" (pp. 257-259), G. notes a tendency apparent in *P.Oxy.* 3.413 and *P.Oxy. inv.* 89 B/31, 33, to use both sides of the papyrus, and compares the similar practice of letter writers, who frequently continue their text on the verso. This is yet another example of the way in which the categories of "literary" and "documentary" intersect in these texts.

In Chapter 2, "I copioni e la tradizione dei testi teatrali" (pp. 261-263), G. discusses the relationship between literary copies made for reading and theatrical scripts with musical and other annotations. She makes the important point that, although these separate traditions diverged early, they were not mutually exclusive so that as well as giving a limited insight into the theatrical tradition, the scripts may have the potential also to assist in the reconstruction of the text.

In Chapter 3, “Forme di spettacolo teatrali in età ellenistico-romano” (pp. 265-273), G. follows Gentili’s view that the commonest form of theatrical entertainment in Greco-Roman Egypt was the theatrical anthology, followed in popularity by mimes and comedies. Most scripts of tragic papyri seem to come from anthologies. On the other hand, no. 10 in G.’s catalogue, *P.Oxy.* 27.2458 (Euripides’ *Cresphontes*), seems to show that it was still possible in the mid-third century CE to stage a complete classical tragedy in Roman Oxyrhynchus.

G. ends with a brief summary of her conclusions, an appendix discussing two further musical papyri of uncertain nature (*P.Oxy.* 53.3705 and *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59533), a bibliography, an index of papyri cited, tables and figures, and a table of contents. Her work, particularly the catalogue in part 1 which is commendably thorough, will be welcomed by all those interested in performance studies (an increasingly fashionable field in classical studies). It is just a pity that the evidence collected and analyzed by G. is so scanty (a total of only 23 papyri) that any conclusions which can be drawn from it have to be based on so very few examples.

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John Whitehorne

Philip Schmitz, *Die Giessener Zenonpapyri* (P.land.Zen.). Papyrologica Coloniensia 32. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007. xvii + 277 pages. ISBN 978-3-506-76431-7.

This publication by Schmitz (hereafter S.) of all identified Zenon papyri in the P.land. collection completes the publication of all the texts from the Zenon archive held in the papyrus collections in Giessen.

The first section, **1-8**, comprises a re-edition of the eight texts previously edited by F. Uebel and published posthumously by H.G. Gundel in *APF* 26 (1978) 5-31. The first three texts are contracts, the others agricultural receipts. They were collected as *SB* 14.11659-64, with the exception of **2**, which is referred to in *SB* 14.11659 (p. 238), and **8**, which was re-edited as *P.Zen.Pestm.* 60. It is very welcome to have them re-edited and included here for the sake of completeness. One of the major obstacles standing in the way of further work on the Zenon archive is the difficulty of rounding up so many texts not only scattered across so many collections, but published in so many different places.

All the remaining papyri, **9-82**, are texts which are published here for the first time. **9-16** are fragments of long-lined letters written across the fibres in the characteristic *Kanzleischrift* of the Zenon archive. All are concerned with agricultural matters, and all are very fragmentary. It is to be hoped that, in time, they might be joined up with other fragments from the Zenon archive in other collections; S.'s successful combination of two separate inventory numbers in both **11** and **16** continues in the right direction here, following on Uebel's earlier success in joining up P.land. texts with others in Cairo (**24** and **57** here), Florence (**53** here), and Michigan (**29** here).

17-46 comprise other letters. **17** is the third example of a letter from Panakestor to his subordinates Kleitarchos and Andron, allowing it to be dated ca. 258-256 BCE. I note that, as elsewhere throughout the Zenon archive, the ratio of datable texts (**17-27**) to undated texts (**28-46**) seems to run at about 1:3. **47-50** comprise two hypomnemata, a royal oath concerning 100 artabas of croton, and the end of an enteuxis, which may represent the end of another copy of *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59639.

Although I am unable to confirm it from the image, in the royal oath, **49**, in lines 8-9 we must surely read ἡγορακέναι or maybe ἐγορακέναι, "have bought," as S. himself suggests in his note to line 8, rather than <σ>εσυρακέναι, which he prints in the text and translates "gestohlen (?)." If the latter reading is correct, then it must be a variant form of συλάω/σύρω, which is given in the index, but does not mean "steal," and its perfect does not form in this way.

The rest of the texts, **51-82**, comprise accounts and lists of various types. **51-52**, unfortunately very fragmentary, come from an account of grain and a list of names from Zenon's time in Palestine (259 BCE). **53** confirms the position of P.Iand. inv. 393 as the first column of an inventory from the time of Zenon and Apollonios's journeys through the Delta in 257 BCE. This completes the inventory, the bulk of which survives as PSI 4.428. S. appends a useful summary of what is known of their journey and an analysis of items offloaded and taken on by the travellers en route at Berenikes Hormos and Tettaphu; on this journey, see further now W. Clarysse, *CE* 82 (2007) 201-206, with map. **54** is another list concerned with payment for the planting of olives and fruit trees of different types on Apollonios's estates; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 2. 59184 *inter alia*. **57** is a new edition of *P.Cair.Zen.* 4. 59717 + P.Iand. inv. 403, a fragmentary account of sesame, poppy seed, and kroton. **51-61** in this section are datable, **61-82** undated.

The volume concludes with the usual indexes, followed by a concordance of inventory and edition numbers (a further concordance of edition and inventory numbers would also have been useful), and a further concordance of earlier editions and *P.Iand.Zen.* editions. There are no plates, but excellent images of all the texts published here may be found on the Giessener Papyri- und Ostrakadaten website, where they may be accessed at <http://geb.uni-giessen.de/geb/volltexte/2005/1980/>, by clicking on "Zugehörige Publikationen," entering the inventory number in the "Beginn" box in the left-hand (Browse) column, and finally clicking on "Bild" in the document description. (I am indebted to our German colleagues for their help in negotiating this particular maze.)

Further on electronic *Hilfsmitteln*, it is a surprise that, while S. at p. 2, n. 6, refers the reader to P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Guide to the Zenon Archive* (Leiden 1981), for a list of published texts in the Zenon archive, he makes no reference to the much more up-to-date listing given on the Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Archives, s.v. "Zenon son of Agreophon," at www.trismegistos.org/arch.php, which now includes *P.Iand.Zen.*

In conclusion, S. has done an excellent job in editing these texts, many of which are scrappy and horribly difficult to read, and making them available to us with such a wealth of up-to-date and invaluable commentary. This volume is a worthy addition to the Papyrologica Coloniensia series.

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Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, *Ostraka*. Demotische Dokumente aus Dime 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006. viii + 174 pages + 50 plates. ISBN 3-447-05350-X.

Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, *Quittungen*. Demotische Dokument aus Dime 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006. viii + 283 pages + 46 plates. ISBN 3-447-05351-8.

These two volumes are the first of a series edited by Karl-Theodor Zauzich, who has initiated a project entitled: "Soknopaiu Nesos nach den demotischen Quellen römischer Zeit." Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, this multi-year project has as its primary goal the publication of hitherto unedited Demotic texts from this famous site (here referred to as Dime).¹ Although large numbers of Greek documents are known from Dime, relatively few Demotic texts have been published over the years.² The main reason behind the lamentable publication record is that the script of the documents from Dime is famously horrendous. Few but Zauzich have worked extensively on this material.³ It is therefore fortunate that Zauzich has established a project and enlisted the help of Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit who have, consequently, also become specialists in the Dime documents. As the two researchers of this project, Lippert and Schentuleit have been steadily working through the texts. Clearly, a collaborative endeavor is optimal in dealing with such a corpus.

The deep experience of the authors in editing Demotic texts is reflected in the excellent format and physical layout of both volumes. They have devoted much care to the presentation, with the parallel columns of transliteration and translation. Particular attention has also been given to the illustrations. Where necessary two photographs are offered so that the curved surface of the ostrakon can be properly documented and read. Similarly, fold-out photographs in the second volume on *Quittungen* expedite the study of the papyri. Both volumes have complete glossaries, concordances, subject indices (often missing in text editions), and chronological overviews. The volumes also include

¹ While most of the texts appear in these volumes for the first time, there are several re-editions of texts published by other scholars.

² An excellent overview in A. Jördens, "Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiu Nesos," in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römischen Fajum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 41-56. See also S. Pernigotti, *Soknopaïou Nesos* (Imola 2006), and now various contributions to S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology* (Wiesbaden 2008).

³ One should mention W. Spiegelberg, F.Ll. Griffith, and E. Bresciani among such brave souls. Recently A.G. Migahid has been actively working on texts from Dime.

a concordance of catalogue (publication) numbers, inventory numbers, and plate numbers.

The volume *Ostraka* comprises editions of 229 ostraca. Most are from the Papyrussammlung Berlin, although six are preserved in the Egyptian Collection of the University of Zürich. The editors describe the archaeological context of the documents (*Ostraka*, pp. 1-2) on the basis of the field diaries of F. Zucker for the years 1909-1910. They clearly come from the temple sphere (p. 2). The 69 papyri in the *Quittungen* volume are from the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung-SMPK in Berlin, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the Louvre. Only one papyrus can be identified in the field diaries of Zucker; most entered collections through purchase in the nineteenth century. The dated papyri range from 25 BC to about 180 AD (?) (*Quittungen*, pp. 277-278). The ostraca generally are undated, but may be safely assigned to the same period (*Ostraka*, p. 5).

Broadly speaking, the editors divide the ostraca into two groups, the one dealing with temple administration (e.g., division into *phylai*), the other with priestly economic matters (e.g., the maintenance of the priests) (p. 3).⁴ The material is organized by text category. Thus, in *Ostraka* the types represented include: *phyle* registers ("Phylen-Zählungen"); name lists associated with the individual *phylai*; "simple" name lists; ostraca with a single name; ostraca with two names; accounts concerning money, grain, *gs* (?) bread; beer allocations. The papyrus receipts of the *Quittungen* volume comprise: *wty* receipts; surplus-delivery receipts; sacral-tax receipts; *lesonis*-office-tax receipts; weaver-payment receipts; one weaver-corporation-payment receipt ("Körperschaftsabgabe(?)-Quittung der Weber"); fowl- and cattle-meat-tax receipts; *srs* (?) receipts; boat-delivery receipts; offering-grain receipts; ferry-tax receipts; various types of "discharge of obligations" receipts (*Entlastungsquittungen*). These "discharge of obligation" receipts are issued to officials who have appropriately executed their financial responsibilities on behalf of the temple; they have transmitted monies in their keeping to the proper channels, and are thereby relieved of responsibility for them. As the editors note, such texts are not yet known from other localities in Egypt (p. 2).

Each section of translation concludes with a summary and analysis of the nature of the text under consideration. The editors consider such questions as the differences between the Demotic lists concerning *phyle* personnel on ostraca and the Greek records on papyri (*Ostraka*, p. 21). The more detailed Greek texts provide the names, filiation of mother and father, as well as the age

⁴ The dry and impersonal tenor of these documents scarcely varies. Thus, it is striking to read the declaration of a scribe writing for illiterate tax-agents: "Written by Tesenu-phs, son of Satabus, on behalf of them, who cannot write" (*Quittungen*, pp. 61-63).

of all the priests of all the *phylai*. These were intended for the Greek-language administration. The simpler Demotic texts were apparently for internal use.

Demoticists will appreciate the remarks concerning the palaeography and orthography of the idiosyncratic Dime script (*Quittungen*, pp. 6-8). The editors observe, for example, that certain phenomena, such the absence of a definite article (p. 6), occur too consistently to be dismissed as mere mistakes. They also identify specific palaeographical features which help to distinguish scribal hands (p. 7; note also p. 48). Numerous writings and phrases seem to be unique to Dime (e.g., pp. 32 and 92). There are several “new” or problematic words and compounds for Demoticists to contemplate: *c-n-sty*, “baker” (literally “great-one-of-flame”), only attested in Dime (*Quittungen*, p. 168); “*gsgs* bread” (Ostraka, pp. 5-6); *nkt šn*, “Orakelsache (?)” (*Quittungen*, p. 35); *gš*, with an animal or bird determinative (*Quittungen*, p. 107); *srs* (?) receipt (*Quittungen*, p. 111).

Of importance to a wider audience is the section on the “Temple Economy According to the Receipts” (*Quittungen*, pp. 9-14). The temple is naturally the focal point for all manner of economic activities. The texts bear witness to the varied business enterprises of the temple of Dime, which possessed, for example, several oil presses throughout the Fayyum (p. 9). Those running such operations would first pay taxes to the temple, which would then transmit them to the state (p. 9). The main temple also derived income from various smaller sub-shrines in the Fayyum; here again the temple collects taxes and passes the monies on to the state (p. 10). The temple of Dime leased licenses to launderers in Dime and Nilupolis (p. 11); there were also weavers associated with the institution. The *Quittungen* further provide information on the monies paid by the state for the support of the Egyptian temples, the *syntaxis* (p. 13). A key official in the temple economy was the “scribe of the priests.” A detailed flowchart helps to clarify the position of this important office holder as well as the movement of money and goods through the bureaucracy (p. 14).

Various offices and occupations appear in the receipts (*Quittungen*, pp. 15-24). Apart from such generic designations as “priests” or “prophets” (p. 18), there are more specific officials, such as: “The Master of Purity and Chief of the Lake ‘Great Green of Nephersatis;” the *lesones* (considerable amount of information on this office and on individual office holders, pp. 15-18); the above-mentioned “scribe of the priests;” the “priest-on-duty of phyle x;” the “agents of the offering;” the “state tax collector of the priests” (*nš šhn.w pr-š nš wcb.w*); the “ship master” (*c-n-mr*; a valuable note, *Quittungen*, p. 185); the baker (*c-n-sfy*); the “tax collector of the weavers;” weavers; launderers, construction workers and goldsmiths; the “herdsmen of the god;” the “fishermen of the god.”

The transliterations and translations are first-rate. While difficulties are duly noted, textual remarks are concise and to the point. The texts naturally contain much of interest to philologists, but the editors have also striven to present this material in a way that may be useful and accessible to historians, be they Egyptologists or Classicists.

I note the following points of detail.

The texts contain new onomastic data. Previously unattested, for example, is *Pa-hd* (?) (*Ostraka*, p. 39); could this be identical with the 'Pa-pay' in *Quittungen*, p. 127? The editors cite several previously unattested names which may be foreign, e.g. *P3y-gb* (p. 83), *Gb^c* (p. 91), and *YI^c* (p. 97). In *Quittungen*, p. 154, odd indeed is the non-Egyptian name *Llf*. Very useful is the editors' discussion of the common name *Htb3* (*Ostraka*, p. 53), which is here unusually written with the divine determinative. They point out that *Htb3* seems to have been a god or divinized man. Similarly, there are informative comments on the deity *S3=w-t3-wty* ("Stotoetis") in the Fayyum (*Ostraka*, p. 81).

The texts offer several "new," problematic, or significant place names.

P3-ph-n-is.t, with the possible intriguing meaning, "The-End-of-Isis," is still not located (*Quittungen* p. 151). One notes also the toponym: *T3-h3.t-n-is.t*, "The-Beginning-of-Isis" (*Quittungen*, p. 141).

P3 m3^c is.t N3.w-nfr-ir-s.t, "The place of Isis Nepheres," otherwise unattested (*Quittungen*, p. 87).

The designation *T3-m3y-n-p3-whr*, "The-Island-of-the-Dog," is apparently to be identified with Alexandru Nesos (*Quittungen*, p. 118). The Dime temple seems to have had a laundry, a goldsmith factory, vineyards, and an oil-production site there in the Ptolemaic Period.

P3-sy-Hr and the curious *Pr-hd* ("Treasury") are unplaced toponyms (*Quittungen*, pp. 78 and 135).

The lists and receipts in this series do not yield their secrets easily. As isolated texts they may be minor, but accurately published and critically studied as a group, their importance is immense. It is precisely such material which will help us to understand the internal dynamics of Egyptian temples under Roman rule. It is a cause for rejoicing that the editors have lavished such care and attention on these documents, and have thus rendered them accessible to a wide range of scholars interested in the great issues of Roman period Egyptian religion.

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Charikleia Armoni, James M.S. Cowey, and Dieter Hagedorn, *Die griechischen Ostraka der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung. Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, N.F. 11. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2005. xxiii + 514 pages. ISBN 3-8253-5087-8.

This massive volume publishes the entirety of the Greek ostraka, including the Greek-Demotic bilinguals, in the Heidelberg collection. Texts are given for 453 items, and descriptions for another 72 which are partially or wholly unreadable; even the language is in doubt in some of these latter cases. The volume includes those ostraka previously published by F. Bilabel in *P. Bad.* 4 and P. Sattler in *P. Heid.* 3, as well as those that have appeared in more recent articles; there is a concordance to previous publications as well as an inventory list from which the reader can see the modest place occupied in the collection by ostraka in Demotic (about 65 pieces), Coptic (30), and a scattering of Hieratic, drawings, blanks, and forgeries.

The editors have presented their texts in standard papyrological format, with commentaries, translations and extensive notes (except for some items recently published in journal articles with extensive commentaries).¹ They have integrated illustrations of the ostraka into the presentation, which is very convenient but, as they remark in the preface, somewhat diminishes the quality of the reproduction. Color images on the Internet are promised (“in nicht allzu ferner Zukunft”); these have not yet become available as of July, 2008. When they do, it will become easier for readers to pursue any questions about readings in the texts. (For this reason, I have deferred to another time a few suggestions about readings that I would offer.)

The bulk of the contents of the Heidelberg collection belongs to the Roman period (just 29 of the texts are assigned to the Ptolemaic period, 17 to Late Antiquity, vs. 407 Roman). There is a very large representation of the Theban West Bank among these texts, although there are also many texts from the East Bank and some from other provenances (a handful each from Edfu and Elephantine/Syene, stray pieces from Elkab, Koptos, and the Fayyum). Information on provenance comes from internal evidence, whether textual or ceramic. There is no discussion of the origins of the collection and the purchases by which one presumes it was acquired. Given the strong current of interest

¹ To my taste, they tend to print too many symbols rather than resolving them. For reasons I cannot understand, the symbol for πρροῦ is sometimes resolved and sometimes not; there does not seem to be any visible principle at work.

recently in “museum archaeology” and more generally tracing the routes by which papyrological collections have been formed, this is regrettable.

The quality of the editions is, unsurprisingly, very high. Anyone who has edited many ostraka will know how much agony lies behind many lines of text, how far from the certainty of the undotted Greek letters the original process of reading was; and in the case of dotted letters, this is still more true. For some of these, as I have indicated, I am waiting to see the digital image before trying to solve problems in the texts. But in reading texts against the printed photographs, I found consistently that even readings I initially found doubtful were generally justifiable if one went through the editors’ mental processes with them. Fortunately, the notes are very full and candid; uncertainties are not glossed over, alternative readings are laid out, difficulties are analyzed. The editors are acutely conscious how often in the history of ostracology a text becomes intelligible only in light of parallels published afterwards, and again and again one can see how much progress has been made in recent decades in almost every aspect of understanding (especially) the Theban and West Bank texts. The editors also define various problems that may be solved with future evidence. The commentaries and notes are also generally excellent in treating all of the substantive or formal issues presented by each ostrakon; only rarely was there not a comment for a point that seemed to me to warrant one.

In a volume of these dimensions, I can only single out a number of points that I found of interest in reading it. Ostraka are mostly about details, and there are lots of details here. In the Ptolemaic section, I would call attention to the important discussion of chaff (18-19 introd.), noting that in a number of published texts the reading ἀγω(γῆ) (in the accusative singular or plural) should be replaced by μῶια, the term for “bundle” derived from Demotic *myh* (Coptic MOE2); this reading remains to be verified in some cases.

The Roman section opens with four archives. The first, the descendants of Petemarsnoupthis (30-50, plus 6 ostraka in *O.Deiss.*), belongs to AD 58-86 and contains receipts for taxes in money from a family of Pakerkeësis on the West Bank. The central figure is a Psenptouthis, and almost all of the texts in fact concern him (a couple belong to his brother or his children; it is misleading to say that his grandfather “wird aber auch noch in dem spätesten erhaltenen Dokument erwähnt” when he is in fact nowhere mentioned as alive; he is only a papponymic). Aficionados of taxation will ponder 45 and 46, receipts for, respectively, δS ἀφηλ() and . . . κ() ἀφηλ(). In the first, it seems likely that we should resolve the first part of the tax name as (τετραδραχμιαίας) or something of the sort. About the second example, Hagedorn remarks, “Mag der erste Bestandteil auch unentziffert geblieben sein, so läßt sich doch mit Sicherheit sagen, daß er weder ein Delta noch das Drachmensymbol noch

Teile von τετρα- oder δραχμ- enthalten haben kann.” In any case, it is hard to avoid the impression that the second word is to be connected with minors and probably to be resolved as ἀφηλ(ικων). It seems unlikely that it is a tax levied on minors, but we have, as Hagedorn remarks, no other evidence for the state’s levying taxes to support them, either.

A small archive (51-57), already discussed by Hagedorn in *ZPE* 109 (1995) 187-192 but supplemented here with two additional texts, is that of Petemenophis son of Osoroueris, dating to AD 70-79. There then follows the much larger archive of Herakles (58-132), Senkametis, and their family, ranging from AD 106-193. They pose a real problem of seemingly giving Senkametis an exceptionally long lifetime, making her a centenarian or nearly that by the time of her last appearance. Part of this reconstruction rests on 61, dated to 106 with some hesitation, where the reading of the text before her name is uncertain, and given the extremely heavy clustering of texts concerning her toward the end of the archive’s span (between 178/9 and 191), it is hard not to wonder if the two early texts (65 is the other, dated to 117) really refer to the same woman. The discussion of the burial tax, τέλος ταφῆς, in the commentary to 118 is substantial.

The last archive is that of Mechphres (133-144), consisting only of tax receipts from the years 137-139. The editor canvasses possible appearances of this man elsewhere.

The money taxes constitute the larger part of the receipts (145-269), with taxes in kind (270-323) considerably less numerous. This latter section, however, offers an important discussion of the relatively rare συναίρεμα formula (274 introd.), for which the Heidelberg collection provides 7 of the 17 published examples. Another important discussion is that of the εἰς πρόσθεσιν formula (303-308 introd.), which Cowey renders as “for credit” to an account. A handful of certificates for dike work (324-327; there are others at 39 and 47 in the first of the archives) and a long section of accounts and lists (328-429) follow, plus some letters and other minor categories.

Many of the texts in this volume are austere at best, taken singly, but the overall contribution, as usually with ostraka, lies in the mass and in the patient increments of knowledge that help make earlier publications of ostraka more intelligible and valuable. The editors have accomplished their task with patience, learning, good eyes, and intellectual honesty, and the result deserves our admiration and gratitude.

Werner Diem, *Arabischer Terminkauf. Ein Beitrag zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Ägyptens im 8. bis 14. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006. 187 pages + 3 plates. ISBN 3-447-05482-4.

This monograph includes an introduction, five chapters, the last of which includes the edition of three *dhikr ḥaqq*, 42 tables, an appendix on weights, and three indices: persons and groups; topography and geography; and things, concepts, and terms.

The study provides extended commentary on documents that begin *dhikr ḥaqq*, the meaning of which has been variously translated and understood. In the first chapter, "Rechtsform," Diem convincingly argues that these documents are the debtor's acknowledgment of a claim against him (*Anrechtschein*), recording either a debt or a sale on future delivery. He also convincingly argues that the *iqrār*, *Anerkenntnis*, is a much broader category including, for example, acknowledgment of a debt, or quittance. In fact, *iqrār* is also the term used in sales contracts that have been the subject of several recent papyrological studies not cited by Diem.

In the second chapter, arguably the more important of the two main chapters, Egyptian documentary formulary is compared with Egyptian and Eastern juridical formularies. Diem establishes that documentary and juridical formulary for sales on future delivery correspond when the *dhikr ḥaqq* is for wheat, but that there is very little correspondence between juridical and documentary formulary for any other products or for chattels. Whether formulary varied or changed across time and space is not addressed. The short fourth chapter finds similar disparity between Andalusian documentary and juridical formulary.

The third chapter, "Terminkauf von Agrarprodukten in Ägypten," includes a large number of tables. The tables are not easy to interpret, as unfortunately their parameters are unclear. For example, how many discrete cases does the corpus comprise, how many discrete cases per century, per location, is never made clear. If one counts the entries in Table 1 (which incorporates Table 10), there would seem to be 93 documents dating from the late second to the ninth century AH, with one document from each end of this chronological spectrum. But five documents (from Table 10) involve the same individual in the same year, and so these would count not as five discrete cases in a data base, but as one.

As an example of the importance of acknowledging the parameters of one's data base, in Table 33, "Contracts by Province," Diem cites four documents dating from the third century in which a creditor bears a Coptic name and eight documents from the sixth century with an Arabic-named creditor as

evidence of increased Arabization and Islamization. But all four third century documents were written on the same papyrus in the same year (268) for the same person, while all eight documents from the sixth century were written in the same year (527) for the same Arabic-named creditor. Statistically these documents constitute one case of a Coptic creditor in the third century and one case of an Arabic creditor in the sixth century and so tell us nothing about Arabization or Islamization. The footnote on these topics cites some syntheses on Arabization and Islamization, but not papyrological studies or the 1979 study *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* by R.W. Bulliet.

The methodological ambiguity in the third chapter is reflected in bibliographical gaps. Recent papyrological publications that develop methodology for time series analysis of such documents, and that analyze issues that this chapter purports to address for the first time, are not cited. As an example, in describing the lag between harvest of particular crops and payment of taxes on those crops, Diem is apparently unaware of agricultural calendars edited and published early in the last century, as well as of recent publications that address this specific issue.

This study would have benefited from alternative interpretations of the data as well as from consideration of additional related data. That more Arabs might be creditors in documents written in Arabic would seem to beg the question. The reader is left wondering if Coptic creditors could have and did write such documents in Coptic. Whether or not the corpus of published and unpublished Coptic documents was consulted is not indicated. And does the Arabic bear any relation to pre-Islamic formulary in such documents?

Finally, the introduction cites a selection of early twentieth century authors as to the importance of the papyri as an adjunct to narrative sources for the history of the pre-modern Islamic world. While correlating documentary and juridical formularies, this study references no narrative historical sources. It does, however, represent an important contribution to our understanding of documents that in fact recorded debt and sale on future delivery and the relation between theory and practice in their legal formulary in pre-modern Islamic Egypt.

Melissa M. Terras (Chapters 4, 5, and Appendix A co-authored with Paul Robertson), *Image to Interpretation: An Intelligent System to Aid Historians in Reading the Vindolanda Texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. xii + 252 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-920455-7.

In this unusual little book, papyrologists are put, as it were, under glass. The general aims of the book are twofold: (1) to create a scientific (i.e. computer-understandable) account of how papyrologists read an ancient text, and (2) to test in concept whether this activity can be emulated by a computer using artificial intelligence techniques. The Vindolanda tablets comprise the sample set, however, and thus more specific goals intrude, which align to but do not exactly match the general aims: (1) to create an account of how papyrologists deal with the Old Roman Cursive script as represented on the Vindolanda tablets, and (2) to explore how automated decipherment of character strokes could be used to assist an expert in reading these texts. Papyrologists familiar with the difficulties of reading the Vindolanda tablets will see at once that the holy grail here is to enable the reading of the texts that have proved intractable even to the genius of Bowman and Thomas. In particular, the researchers wish to tackle the difficulties of reading the “stylus tablets,” those wax tablets whose written remains are the faint scratches on the wood where the point of the stylus penetrated the wax in the writing. Only a very few of the 200 Vindolanda stylus tablets have been read to date.

It must be said at once that the holy grail is not reached, nor is that claimed. The book amounts, in effect, to a status report on an ongoing project of considerable complexity. The first part of the book, in which the reading and analysis behaviors of the papyrologist are specified, is a typical product of communication studies, in which “knowledge elicitation” by a “knowledge engineer” (the author) of three “domain experts” (papyrologists) using “Think Aloud Protocols” results in a detailed description of how papyrologists go about the trade. I wish I could say that the results are fascinating, but they are not. The author in conclusion (p. 83) admits that “some of the findings regarding the papyrology process may seem obvious” and adds – in a startling rhetorical break from a steady diet of scientific modes of speech – the self-deprecating remark that “the more difficult and deteriorated a document, the more the experts pay attention to the features of the document: who would have thought?” Still, there is something of interest in having the trade subjected to this sort of unfamiliar objectification and even quantification; and for those unfamiliar with papyrology, there may be something of value in the details.

The second part of the book focuses on the capture and manipulation of data, and this is considerably more interesting. Step one is the encoding of the letters. Here, the sensible approach taken is to analyze letters into their constituent strokes. Following the deployment of another “knowledge elicitation,” a system is devised for describing the strokes in terms analogous to those a working papyrologist might use: the direction of the stroke, whether straight or curved or a loop, whether short, average, or long in length, and so forth. A data set of letter forms is then accumulated by the hand encoding of stroke characteristics for 1,506 characters from the ink tablets, and 180 from the stylus tablets, using software originally designed to segment and label aerial satellite images. The result is the very useful Appendix B, which gives images of the variant letter forms – for common letters as many as 100 variants – as well as the detailed electronic data on which all subsequent steps rely. In addition to the character data set, an important preliminary is the more straightforward capture of the textual corpus of all Vindolanda texts either published or ready for publication. This corpus was then analyzed to extract word lists, and also frequency lists by word, letter, and two-letter combinations (bi-graph analysis).

The next step is to use “Artificial Intelligence” to decipher texts not already in the character data set (chapters 4-5, written with Paul Robertson, a software engineer). The software program takes in new character data and ranks each new character by probability of match to the weighted characteristics of strokes within the character data base. Thus, for example, a new character, in fact “s,” could be ranked with high probability as either “s” or “r” (which share similarities in this script) on the basis of the strokes and their weighted characteristics. The resulting combination of letter possibilities is then examined using the additional knowledge of letter frequency, frequency of two-letter combinations, match to words within the word list, and frequency of matched words. This examination is an iterative procedure, and results after several iterations in a “best” result. In a reading of the phrase “nunc quid,” for example, on a stylus tablet (797) exhibiting unusual forms of “c” and “d,” the analysis at first cannot distinguish the similar characters “n” and “u,” initially sees “q” as more probably “d,” and sees “c” as either “c” or “i” and “d” as either “d” or “m” (*sic*: such are the stylus texts!). And yet using the iterative procedure, the software derives the correct result after 82 tries: (pass 1) “nnnc duid” | (pass 2) “nnui duim” | (pass 3) “nuui dnm” | ... (pass 6) “uuui quid” | ... (pass 83) “nunc quid.”

Anyone who takes the trouble to study the image of stylus tablet 797 (fig. 2.3, p. 47) will see what an impressive result this is. Nonetheless, the example is cherry picked and somewhat hand crafted, as the authors acknowledge, and it is clear that they are still a long way from being able to “read” undeciphered

texts. In fact, the very demonstration of the concept has led these researchers to understand the “asymptotic nature of the system’s convergence on a solution” (p. 139) and by the end of the book the formulated goal is not, therefore, automated reading of these texts, but rather an application program that will help papyrologists in their day-to-day tasks as they work with these and other difficult texts – but that, too, is a long way off (p. 151). They describe in some detail in the concluding chapter what such a program might entail, and it certainly sounds useful, even enticing.

We see here, then, a snapshot of the state-of-the-art as Engineering Science at Oxford meets Oxford’s Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents. That in itself is, to be sure, of some interest to papyrologists; and Appendix B (conspectus of variant letter forms) is certainly a useful tool for anyone working with the Vindolanda texts. Most of the book, however, is more oriented towards the study of communication and artificial intelligence than to papyrology per se.

Will such a project really be able to “provide the means to train systems to read previously illegible ancient texts” (p. 119)? That depends on what you mean by “read.” The authors here are unusual not only in the project they have undertaken, but in the strong practicality that pervades their analysis and conclusions. As mentioned, they insist that the machine must work as helpmeet to the expert, must help with offering and exploring possibilities rather than making determinations. Certainly it seems here proved in concept that a software application could be devised that would be a tremendous benefit for editors dealing with challenging texts. In principle, this could be extended to other texts with other types of challenges. The question that remains is obvious: whether it is possible to muster the resources and expertise to follow through on the long wish list (see the author’s recommendations in the final chapter) that is necessary to make even the Vindolanda-specific application a serious tool.

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Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins*. Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006. xiv + 248 pages + 9 plates. ISBN 978-0-8028-2895-8.

Hurtado's accessible primer on the earliest Christian manuscripts maintains a strict focus: Coptic texts are too late, Semitic texts too indirect. The broader historical frame comes into play in places, but we find here, rather, a concerted look at Greek papyri and parchments of the second and third centuries containing "Christian Literary Texts." These include biblical and apocryphal texts, along with a variety of explicitly theological material like Irenaeus, Melito, Origen, a few prayers, and a hymn. Appendix 1 gives a list of the 246 manuscripts under scrutiny: 92 Old Testament texts (including the few predating the second century), 85 New Testament, 19 Apocrypha, 50 theological. These manuscripts are examined, in particular, for what they tell us "as artifacts."

The text is divided into five chapters. The first contains a straightforward description of the texts, at times a rather pedestrian listing of the number of witnesses for, say, Matthew as opposed to Luke as opposed to the *Shepherd of Hermas* or *Gospel of Thomas*, but with some interesting comments along the way. In particular, H. stresses the consequences of the wide distribution of New Testament and apocryphal texts for our ideas of Christian community and interchange – e.g., that the variety of biblical and apocryphal texts recovered from second- and third-century Oxyrhynchus seems to suggest that the apocrypha were part of the broad interests of Christian readers in these early times rather than a sign of isolated heterodox communities.

With that as a basis, H. moves directly to the best-known issue arising from the early Christian manuscripts, namely, that of the "Early Christian Preference for the Codex" (chapter 2). He presents a thorough (if at times statistically over-elaborated) review of the facts that demonstrate that preference, followed by a sensible review of scholarly speculations on the causes. Importantly, he successfully exposes for the student what is fact, what is scholarly opinion, and what might form reasonable grounds on which to construct history from such evidence. In the end, he sides (tentatively, as is necessary) with Harry Gamble's view (*Books and Readers in the Early Church*, 1995) that the preference devolves from an early collection of Pauline epistles in codex form. This chapter is a good place to send students and colleagues looking for an account of the issues involved, Roberts and Skeat's admirable *Birth of the Codex* (1983) being now out of date.

The next chapters are somewhat more technical in focus. The first (chapter 3), on the *nomina sacra*, is linked to the question of the codex, as this phenomenon (the habit of contracting certain sacred names and marking the contraction with an overbar) is also a strong Christian preference from our earliest witnesses. Again, H. offers a review of the data and scholarly opinion on the topic, this time with less success. The problem is not so much the data, which is (mostly) well and fairly presented, nor even the conclusion – unsurprisingly, H. favors still the solution he has proposed in an earlier publication, but qualifies that conclusion with “perhaps” and gives some weight to other possibilities. Rather, the difficulty lies in the unfortunate drubbing of Christopher Tuckett – a full ten pages (pp. 122-131) – which is simply out of place in this explicitly protreptic text. There are other signs that H. forgets his announced audience in this chapter: e.g., in his initial, basic description of the phenomenon, he neglects to translate the words in question (θεός, κύριος, κτλ.), which makes the discussion difficult, at best, for a Greekless reader.

In Chapter 4, H. focuses on the staurogram, that curious monogram of tau and rho used as part of the *nomen sacrum* abbreviation for σταυρός and forms of σταυρώ in certain early codices. After the usual review of data and scholarly opinion, H. sides with those who see in this monogram an image of Jesus on the cross, thus (if so) the earliest witness to Christian fixation on the crucified Jesus, and an important corrective to those who wish to see the importance of the crucifixion as a later development in the early history of the church.

The final chapter on “Other Scribal Features,” in which H. includes columns, margins, readers’ aids, textual corrections, is less detailed and thorough (one misses in particular a cross-check with non-Christian texts: e.g., at p. 179, it is unclear whether H. thinks the habits of dieresis and punctuation specifically Christian, which they are not). Nonetheless, there are some interesting things here, especially in his review of evidence from Turner’s *Typology of the Early Codex* (1977), from which he concludes that “Christians used the codex as the dominant book form for their most prized texts, and formatted many of their codex copies of these texts with some of the aesthetics of the literary roll” (p. 170). He (successfully) takes issue with Turner’s conclusion that a large holding capacity was a “prime consideration” in the early development of the codex (p. 172). It is refreshing to see Turner’s important but provisional work further analyzed and developed, rather than simply cited.

The premise of the book is that “the manuscripts that constitute our earliest artifacts of Christianity are so widely ignored” (p. 1; overstated, in my view); and that H. wishes to acquaint “a larger circle of scholars and students concerned with the origins of Christianity” with the artefactual features of these manuscripts, features “well known among specialists in Greek palaeog-

raphy and papyrology” that “comprise evidence relevant for wider questions about early Christianity” (p. 7). The question is how well H. succeeds. For papyrologists, this could provide a “good read” that will remind or inform us of certain topics and bibliography not yet or not recently to hand. For an informed, but not expert audience (which will include all stripes of scholars and advanced students of antiquity and Christianity), H. provides a competent, instructive overview with good control of the bibliography. More introductory students, especially those without Greek, will find this tough going in places, I suspect, but that may be good for them. I can only vaguely recall my first, early encounter with Turner’s splendid *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (1968; rev. 1980), which is accessible and technical at the same time, a wonderful stretch for an eager young student. This book is nowhere near so engaging and eloquent as Turner’s introduction – what is? – but it helpfully and conveniently leads students through the basic facts of the manuscript witnesses and what they contain and how technical details of manuscripts can be used to construct the history of the earliest Christian communities. As H. himself notes (p. 192), Turner and Gamble remain the basic starting points for students with strong interests in such matters, but, very much in the manner of Roger Bagnall’s *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (1995), this book can be a useful hands-on introduction to working with ancient texts.

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Jean Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*, edited with an introduction by Roger S. Bagnall. Hellenistic Culture and Society 49. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007. xx + 303 pages including 19 illustrations. ISBN 978-0-520-251410-0 (cloth), 978-0-520-25142 7 (paperback).

Jean Bingen (hereafter B.), elder statesman, mentor, and friend, is well known to all interested in the fields of papyrology, epigraphy, and the history of Graeco-Roman Egypt. He is best known perhaps for his ongoing work on the Ptolemaic period, spanning now over 60 years of output; his bibliography in *P.Bingen* (published in 2000) already covers 9 large pages in small type.

Hellenistic Egypt presents a carefully chosen selection of B.'s previously published articles and conference papers from 1973 onwards, organized thematically into 4 sections ("The Monarchy," pp. 13-79, chapters 1-5; "The Greeks," pp. 81-154, chapters 6-12; "The Royal Economy," pp. 155-212, chapters 13-15; "Greeks and Egyptians," pp. 213-278, chapters 16-19). The book is prefaced with a guide to the original source of each chapter (pp. vii-viii), a list of illustrations (pp. ix-x; some of them more useful than others), a useful glossary of terms (pp. xi-xv), and three sketch maps, of the Eastern Mediterranean, Hellenistic Egypt, and the Fayyum (pp. xvi-xviii).

B.'s own first words in his Foreword (pp. xix-xx) introduce him to us in May 1945, a young man sitting in barracks at a watershed period of world history and thinking already about some of the problems which will come to occupy him throughout his long and distinguished career. The introduction by Roger Bagnall which follows, "Jean Bingen and the Currents of Ptolemaic History," pp. 1-12, situates B. in the history of post WW II European scholarship on Ptolemaic Egypt. Bagnall's introduction also serves to underline B.'s sensitivity to the need for constant re-evaluation and re-assessment in the study of Hellenistic Egypt, the need for a continuous returning to the sources and to a critical re-examination of the work of earlier scholars.

Part I, "The Monarchy," presents a series of case studies on selected Ptolemaic kings. In Chapter 1, "Ptolemy I and the Quest for Legitimacy," pp. 15-30, B. explores two of the strategies which Ptolemy I used in establishing his new kingdom: the model of kingship presented by Alexander (a model which, through his history of Alexander, Ptolemy himself did much to create) and the creation in Alexandria of the Library as a major sanctuary of Hellenic culture closely associated with the king himself. In Chapter 2, "Ptolemy III and Philae: Snapshot of a Reign, a Temple and a Cult," pp. 31-43, B. offers a re-edition and re-interpretation of *OGIS* 61 = *I.Philae* 1.4. This is an inscription cut above

the gate leading into the naos of the Isis temple of Ptolemy II on the island of Philae. I found B.'s description of the whereabouts of this inscription (a matter on which earlier epigraphists have been remarkably vague: p. 34) very difficult to follow, and I think that we would have been better served here by a ground plan of the temple in this period with an indication of the inscription's location rather than B.'s photo of the second pylon. The latter is irrelevant here since it was not built until the time of Ptolemy VIII and only decorated under Ptolemy XII. B. then argues, following Vassilika, that the inscription records a personal visit to the temple by the young king Ptolemy III, his consort Berenike, and their two young children (hence the use of the diminutive form *teknia* rather than *tekna* in the inscription) late in 245 or early in 244 BCE, on the occasion of their dedication of Ptolemy II's temple to Isis and Harpocrates. *I. Philae* 1.4 accordingly points to a further development in the ideology of the monarchy at the beginning of the new king's reign.

Royal ideology as expressed through the titulature is also the focus of the other three chapters in this first section, which take us to the final years of the dynasty. Their focus on Cleopatra VII involves some repetition from one chapter to the next. Chapter 3, "Cleopatra, the Diadem and the Image," pp. 44-56, takes issue with various aspects, both ancient and modern, of the Cleopatra myth, emphasizing Cleopatra's status as a Macedonian, a sovereign, and a goddess over against modern attempts to reconstruct her as a proto-feminist, the daughter of the Egyptian priestly aristocracy at Memphis, or even a black African. In Chapter 4, "Cleopatra VII Philopatris," pp. 57-66, B. discusses the significance of the double dating and the new titulature adopted by Cleopatra and Ptolemy XV Caesar (Caesarion) in 37/6 BCE, and most especially the queen's new epithet *philopatris*. He concludes that the "homeland" or the "fatherland" for which she professes her love in this way must be Macedonia. She thereby emphasizes yet again her royal Macedonian ancestry, just as in her new title *Kleopatra Thea Neotera*, "Cleopatra Thea the younger," she lays claim to be the true descendant by blood of the great Seleucid queen Cleopatra Thea and therefore rightful heir of the Seleucid kingdom as well. Finally, Chapter 5, "The Dynastic Politics of Cleopatra VII," pp. 63-79, takes us into the thinking behind the grant of territories to Caesarion and Cleopatra's children by Antony at the Donations of 36 BCE, a short-lived triumph of Cleopatra's dynastic planning which would fall apart at the battle of Actium.

In Part II, "The Greeks," B. turns to a study of the Greek migrants to Ptolemaic Egypt. Chapters 6 and 7, "The Thracians in Ptolemaic Egypt," pp. 83-93, and "Ptolemaic Papyri and the Achaean Diaspora in Hellenistic Egypt," pp. 94-103, present studies of two different groups of Greek migrants. B. concludes that far from being of low status, as is sometimes believed, the Thracians

who came to Egypt, primarily as mercenaries, were actually quite high up the social ladder of their adoptive homeland. By contrast, the paucity of references to Achaeans in Ptolemaic papyri and inscriptions suggests that Achaea provided few immigrants for Ptolemaic Egypt. This was due perhaps to their society's predominantly rural character, although some Achaean migrants can be shown to have enjoyed success and high status among the Seleucids.

In Chapter 8, "Greek Presence and the Ptolemaic Rural Setting," pp. 104-113, B. discusses the Greek reorganization of the *chora* under the early Ptolemies. While many Greek immigrants received land grants under the cleruchic system in return for military service, it appears that few of them chose to live out in the countryside. Farming the land was left to the local Egyptian population, with the result that the countryside mostly remained Egyptian throughout the Ptolemaic period. The Greeks and their descendants instead preferred to settle in the urban environment provided by the nome capitals, precipitating their further development into the metropoleis which would increase in importance through to the Roman period. Chapter 9, "The Urban Milieu in the Egyptian Countryside during the Ptolemaic Period," pp. 114-121, follows up on the evolution of these nome capitals as a focus for Hellenic urbanisation.

In Chapter 10, "Kerkeosiris and its Greeks in the Second Century," pp. 122-131, B. tracks the presence of Greeks in the large and well-documented rural village of Kerkeosiris, and their role as absentee landlords in stimulating the gradual development of a hellenized Egyptian rural middle class. Chapter 11, "The Cavalry Settlers of the Herakleopolite in the First Century," pp. 132-140, moves on to the last century of Ptolemaic rule to consider the change in status whereby the cavalry cleruchs in this region, originally granted only limited rights over the use of their *kleroi* in return for military service, gradually acquired what were effectively rights of hereditary possession under the last Ptolemies. Finally in this section Chapter 12, "Two Royal Ordinances of the First Century and the Alexandrians," pp. 141-154, discusses a double ordinance, *C.Ord.Ptol.* 75-76, issued in 41 BCE by Cleopatra and Ptolemy XV, in response to the complaints of some Alexandrian landholders about excessive taxation demands, relating the queen's prompt response both to the complainants' status as Alexandrian citizens and to the crisis of the failure of the Nile flood in the previous year.

Part III, "The Royal Economy," consists of two lengthy and one shorter piece. In Chapter 13, "The Revenue Laws Papyrus: Greek Tradition and Hellenistic Adaptation," pp. 156-188, B. focuses on the Revenue Laws of Ptolemy II, a major text for our understanding of the Ptolemaic economy. He concludes that the Laws are not in fact a code, but a compilation of official documents drawn from two separate rolls, and demonstrates how the Laws show us the

early stages of the adaptation of a monetary economy to Egypt. In Chapter 14, "The Structural Tensions of Ptolemaic Society," pp. 189-205, he explores what he sees as a continuing source of social tension over the course of Ptolemaic rule. This was the problem of insufficient access to private arable land for the Greek immigrants, which could not fail to threaten the system of the royal agricultural economy. In Chapter 15, "The Third-century Land-leases from Tholthis," pp. 206-212, B. finds a further example of this in a series of land leases from the Oxyrhynchite where entrepreneurial Greeks appear as middlemen between the cleruchs who hold land and the Egyptians who actually work it. It is here incidentally that I noted a couple of the very few mistakes in the book: p. 207, read "troop" for "troup," and I think that on the same page at the end of the same paragraph we need to read "the lessor" after "another person."

Part IV, "Greeks and Egyptians," pp. 213-278, addresses several aspects of the interaction, or lack of it, between Greeks and Egyptians under the Ptolemies. Chapter 16, "Greek Economy and Egyptian Society in the Third Century," pp. 215-228, looks further at the gradual extension of the monetary economy into Egyptian life, the Egyptians' reactions to it, and their increasing dependence on the Greeks as a consequence. Chapter 17, "Greeks and Egyptians According to PSI V 502," pp. 229-239, examines one of their possible reactions, an agricultural strike when native cultivators on Apollonius's estate reacted to a unilateral attempt by Apollonius to change their contracts by threatening to walk out and abandon the harvest. In Chapter 18, "Graeco-Roman Egypt and the Question of Cultural Interactions," pp. 240-255, B. discusses in general terms the ultimate failure of the Greeks and Egyptians ever to form a shared homogeneous society, and ascribes it to the different social and cultural structures of the two groups. Finally, in Chapter 19, "Normality and Distinctiveness in the Epigraphy of Greek and Roman Egypt," pp. 256-278, B. examines some of the unique and characteristic types of inscriptions from Graeco-Roman Egypt, including the *proskynemata*, and trilingual priestly decrees such as the Rosetta Stone, before focusing on a series of first century asylum decrees. He argues that rather than these showing the temples taking advantage of royal weakness as has usually been believed, such decrees actually show a strong monarchy intervening to protect the temples' traditional rights of asylum.

The book ends with a Conclusion, pp. 279-289, a Bibliography and General Index. Despite some repetition which could have been pruned out, especially in the chapters discussing Cleopatra VII, this is an excellent introduction for English speakers to the work of one of the most distinguished modern interpreters of the history and society of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Katherine Blouin, *Le conflit judéo-alexandrin de 38-41. L'identité juive à l'épreuve*. Paris, Budapest, and Torino: L'Harmattan, 2005. 199 pages. ISBN 2-7475-8348-1.

This is the first monograph ever dedicated exclusively to the study of the Alexandrian conflict that caused the persecution and death of many members of the local Jewish community in the summer of 38 CE. A volume on the subject was certainly needed and is welcome, despite its publication in a series not dedicated to the study of antiquity but to collecting cross-chronological and cross-geographical works on Judaism.

The book includes an introduction, a first chapter devoted to analyzing the background and the development of the Alexandrian Jewish community during the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods, a second chapter devoted to the riots of 38 CE, and conclusions. A bibliography, a series of useful appendixes with the most important texts and maps discussed in the book, and an index complete the volume. The author privileges a reading of the background of the riots based on the conflict of cultural identities, but finds their real cause in matters related to status. In particular, the author maintains that with the Roman conquest the Jews lost their previous privileged status and that some of them tried to acquire Alexandrian citizenship – an attempt which provoked the “cathartic” reaction of the Alexandrian Greeks. Neither the socio-cultural reading of the riots, nor the attempt to acquire the Alexandrian franchise are new in relation to the study of the riots of 38. Nonetheless, the presentation of the work promises an interesting read. Some important points can, however, be disputed; the criticisms below concentrate strictly on the Alexandrian scenario.

Some key questions concerning the history of the Alexandrian Jews and their status are summarily presented in the introduction. Without specification the author says that “Alexandrians” refers to Greeks with the Alexandrian franchise (p. 15), without making any reference to the decades-long discussion on the subject,¹ ignoring the data collected in a recent volume of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, which put the discussion of Alexandrius in a completely different light.² But more surprisingly, by misquoting Bell’s commentary on Claudius’ *Letter to the Alexandrians*, *P.Lond.* 6.1912, the author (p. 16) leads the

¹ Main discussion in the comments on *CPJ* 2.151; M.A.H. el-Abbadi, “The Alexandrian Citizenship,” *JEA* 48 (1962) 106-123; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1972) 47; D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (Atlanta 1991) 27.

² C.A. Láda, *Foreign Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt* (Leuven 2002) 347-357.

reader to understand that the Jews held the Alexandrian franchise collectively. Apart from the fact that Bell says exactly the opposite,³ the (wrongly reported) sentence seems inconsistent with the author's main thesis; if the Jews already had the Alexandrian citizenship, it is odd to think that some of them tried to obtain it, as the author implies by her main thesis.

In Chapter 1, the author argues that during the Ptolemaic period the Jews held the privileged status of Hellenes, but lost it after the Roman conquest (p. 37 and *passim*). The author uses the mention of *Hellenes* in *P.Tebt.* 1.5.206-220, her only documentary evidence, as an indication that the Jews held that status, on account of their law being a *politikos nomos*. That text rather refers to an administrative reform aimed at improving the legal system on a linguistic pattern in a multicultural country, and does not allow to include automatically all the Jews among the Hellenes. In addition, the recent publication of *P.Polit.Iud.* invites a rediscussion of the place of Jewish law in the Ptolemaic legal system. What is instead certainly documented is that in the Ptolemaic period *Hellenes* was a tax-status, which some Jews of the *chora* held;⁴ that the Alexandrian Jews were probably tax-Hellenes can only be inferred from one of Josephus' allegations.⁵ No documents suggest that *Hellenes* defined any other form of status. The author should explain better such an articulate scenario.

Evidence that the Alexandrian Jews lost the status of Hellenes and were consequently degraded to the level of Egyptians is for the author to be found in the fact that from the early Roman period the Alexandrian Jews paid the poll-tax (p. 64). The author draws this conclusion from the combined reading of *BGU* 4.1140 = *CPJ* 2.151, the petition of the Alexandrian Jew Helenos, where *laographia* is clearly legible, with *P.Cair. inv.* 10448 = *CPJ* 2.156d, where the Alexandrian Isidorus claims that the Jews are similar to the Egyptians who pay the poll-tax. The author's proposed reading of both texts is puzzling. The author reads *BGU* 4.1140 = *CPJ* 2.151 as Helenos' complaint to the Roman prefect for being deprived of his father's Alexandrian citizenship. In reality, Helenos says, "I fear not only to be deprived of my *patris*, but also ...," and then the papyrus becomes mostly illegible. The comparison of this text with *P.Hamb.* 2.168.5-10 (= *BGU* 14.2367), in combination with minimal lexical study, shows that *patris* does not mean citizenship, and indicates that the mention of *laographia* in the text should be commented on within the framework allowed by the term *patris*.

³ *P.Lond.* 6, p. 15.

⁴ W. Clarysse, "Jews in Trikomia," in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* (Copenhagen 1994) 193-203; D.J. Thompson, "Hellenistic Hellenes: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt," in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge and London 2001) 301-322.

⁵ S. Honigman, "Politeumata and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt," *AncSoc* 33 (2003) 82.

Contrary to what the author says, P.Cair. inv. 10448 = *CPJ* 2.156d contains the famous exchange of insults between Isidoros and Claudius and not the passage about the poll-tax. The latter is actually part of P.Berl. inv. 8877 = *CPJ* 2.156c, where Isidoros does claim that the Jews are at the tax level of the Egyptians; but to him king Agrippa I replies that no ruler ever asked the Alexandrian Jews to pay the poll-tax. The author does not comment on this very line, which contradicts her main thesis; the exchange between Isidoros and Agrippa reflects a controversial situation which requires a more thorough examination.

The analysis of the events of 38 in Chapter 2 proceeds from a paraphrased reading of Philo's *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium* (pp. 77-90). The author reads the riots as interethnic violence with "cathartic" effects (p. 77), an attempt by the Alexandrian Greeks to reduce the local Jews' demographic, social, and political weight (pp. 135-136). The discussion of the interethnic problems recognizes the categories of "self" and "other," whereby Jews and Greeks attack each other in a cultural, propagandistic, and ultimately physical way, each group wanting to improve its civic role in the city. Against this background the author casts some attempts by individual Jews to appropriate the Alexandrian franchise, to regain the lost condition of Hellenes – which the Greeks allegedly found outrageous. Beside the fact that, if it is true that the Jews were demoted to the level of the Egyptians, as the author assumes in the previous chapter, it is not clear how the Greeks would want to fight their social and political weight, the only evidence the author submits to support this claim is *P.Lond.* 6.1912.73f., in which the emperor Claudius enjoins the Jews from disturbing the activity of the gymnasium. Interpretations of this line abound, and include the possibility that it refers to Jewish disturbances during gymnasium performances, not to unlawful Jewish membership in the gymnasium.⁶

In this general picture, the reader puzzles over the author's statement that at the root of the Greek resentment against the Jews were the benefits which Jews received to reward their collaboration with the Romans at the time of the conquest, but which the Greeks did not; specifically, the right to have an assembly and to be governed by a Jewish king (pp. 142-143). This statement is highly questionable. Indeed, the Alexandrian Greeks did not have a *boule*, though they requested one of the Roman emperors repeatedly for two centuries. But neither did the Alexandrian Jews. The latter did have a *gerousia*, some members of which were tortured in 38. But *P.Oxy.* 9.1089 and *P.Yale* 2.107 = *P.Giss.Lit.* 4.7 show that the Alexandrian Greeks had one as well. No envious claim would therefore come from them on institutional grounds. As

⁶ A. Kasher, "The Jewish Attitude to the Alexandrian Gymnasium in the First Century A.D.," *AJA* 1 (1976) 148-161; *id.*, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Tübingen 1985) 315-320.

for the Jewish king, the situation is more complicated. The Romans certainly appreciated the Jews' cooperation during the civil wars. The Herodian house later prospered because of the recognition by the Romans, who gave them the role of client kings within the broad scenario of eastern imperial policy. Gaius' appointment of Agrippa I as king of some Levantine territories is part of the same design. That is politically relevant for the Levant but has nothing to do with Alexandria and the local Jews. The Alexandrian Jews had good reason to be proud of Jewish kingship, and in 38, they turned out to have good connections to Agrippa I. But Agrippa I made no political claims on the Alexandrian Jews, nor did the latter consider him their king. The Alexandrian Jews, like the Alexandrian Greeks, had the duty to submit themselves to Roman authority, and they both did. The Jewish kingship could hardly have given the Alexandrian Greeks a reason for political revenge against the local Jews.

Other problems with this book include internal contradictions (pp. 15 and 48 on Râ-Kadet/Rhakôtis and the foundation of Alexandria); historical inaccuracies (p. 79, Gaius was not Tiberius' grandnephew but his grandson by the adoption of Gaius' father Germanicus; the woman mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 9.1089 is not Dionysia but Aphrodisia; the map of Alexandria does not consider the data of the latest archaeological excavations); lack of discussion of important subjects (p. 132, Claudius' second edict to Syria; *passim*, indiscriminate use of terms like pogrom and anti-Semitism).

In sum, an incomplete analysis of primary sources and of scholarly debate diminishes this work's value. The author's thesis is interesting, but its discussion leaves much to be desired.

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Sandra Gambetti

Colin Adams, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt: A Study of Economics and Administration in a Roman Province*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. xiv + 331 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-920397-0.

Die nach nunmehr zehn Jahren in stark überarbeiteter Form veröffentlichte Oxforder Dissertation von C.A. Adams über Landtransport im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten stößt in eine Forschungslücke. Allzu einseitig hatte man sich für das Nilland auf den Transport zu Wasser konzentriert, hinzu kamen grundsätzliche Zweifel an der Rentabilität einer Beförderung von Gütern zu Lande. Daß beides sich wesentlich aus Vorurteilen speiste, der Landtransport aber auch als solcher aufgrund seiner zentralen Bedeutung für Wirtschaft und Verwaltung im römischen Ägypten besondere Beachtung verdient, wird durch Adams' engagiertes Buch immer wieder überzeugend vor Augen geführt.

Das Buch ist in vier Abschnitte gegliedert, die jeweils zwei bis vier Kapitel umfassen. *Part I: Setting the Scene* enthält eine allgemeine Einführung in das kaiserzeitliche Transportwesen (Kap. 1, S. 3-16), dessen Bedeutung trotz der bekannten Aktivitäten Roms im Straßenbau stets unterschätzt wurde. Die angeblich hohen Kosten des Landtransportes, die ihn in der Antike unattraktiv gemacht hätten, ließen jedoch zu viele Faktoren unberücksichtigt; so etwa den Umstand, daß man über gewisse Kapazitäten oft bereits verfügte, hier also eine Kosten-Nutzen-Rechnung entfiel, und außerdem je nach geographischen Gegebenheiten verschiedene Transportarten kombiniert zu werden pflegten. Mit kräftigen Strichen zeichnet Adams sodann die besonderen geospezifischen Bedingungen, die landschaftliche Gliederung und das Wegenetz Ägyptens (Kap. 2, S. 17-46), um mit einigen Anmerkungen zu Zeit und Entfernungen beim Reisen zu schließen.

Part II: Transport Resources beschäftigt sich mit den verschiedenen Transportmitteln – Tieren und Wagen – (Kap. 3, S. 49-69), unter denen das Kamel eine prominente Rolle spielte, mit Einsatz und Haltung der Tiere (Kap. 4, S. 70-90) sowie mit Handel und Besitzverhältnissen (Kap. 5, S. 91-115). Überlegungen zu Packzeug und Tragekapazitäten finden sich hier ebenso wie zu der – nach Adams für die Mehrzahl der Bevölkerung eher eingeschränkten – Verfügbarkeit, was sich in rechtlichen Konstruktionen wie Teileigentum oder Miete äußerte.

Wohl nicht zufällig steht der schmale, aber gewichtige *Part III: The Organisation of Transport* im Mittelpunkt des Buches, der sich mit der staatlichen Kontrolle des Viehbestandes (Kap. 6, S. 119-134) und dem Requisitionswesen (Kap. 7, S. 135-155) befaßt. Über Deklarationen und Viehzählungen suchte sich der Staat einen möglichst zuverlässigen Überblick über die vorhandenen

Bestände zu verschaffen, um entsprechende Steuern erheben, vor allem aber sich einen erleichterten Zugriff zu sichern, wenn es zusätzlich zu der regelmäßigen Inanspruchnahme bei Bedarf weitere Transportkapazitäten verfügbar zu machen galt.

In dem insgesamt umfangreichsten *Part IV: Case Studies* werden die verschiedenen Einsatzbereiche behandelt, in denen Landtransporte zum Tragen kamen. An der Spitze steht der staatliche Getreidetransport (Kap. 8, S. 159-195), worauf der im Zusammenhang mit den Steinbrüchen in der Ostwüste bestehende Transportbedarf sowie die Versorgung des Militärs im allgemeinen erörtert werden (Kap. 9, S. 196-219). Bei den letzten beiden Kapiteln, die die Rolle der Transporttiere im Handel (Kap. 10, S. 220-253) und in der Landwirtschaft (Kap. 11, S. 254-282) untersuchen, stehen dagegen private Wirtschaftszweige im Vordergrund.

Trotz der Abhängigkeit von den geospezifischen Besonderheiten des Landes bieten die ägyptischen Papyri zum Transportwesen, wie die *Conclusion* (S. 283-291) nochmals hervorhebt, mannigfaltige Informationen allgemeinerer Relevanz, die zugleich auf bestimmte Grundstrukturen verweisen. Aus dem hohen Anteil der "state-generated documentation" (S. 284) falle zugleich helles Licht auf das dauernde Wechselspiel zwischen öffentlicher und privater Sphäre, das durchweg zu Lasten der letzteren gegangen sei. Aufgrund der weitgehend fehlenden Besitzgarantie wie auch der relativ hohen Betriebskosten habe man sich in der Landwirtschaft auf das Notwendigste beschränken müssen und bei Bedarf – nicht anders als auch bei menschlicher Arbeitskraft – lieber zusätzlich weitere Tiere geliehen oder gemietet, statt längerfristige Verpflichtungen einzugehen. In Grenzregionen mochten freilich auch Händler kleineren und größeren Zuschnitts, die den Warenverkehr durch die Ostwüste und zwischen dem Niltal und den Oasen sicherten, ihr Auskommen finden, mitunter sogar von dem staatlichen Bedarf an Nachschub profitieren. Diese gegenseitigen Abhängigkeiten und Wechselwirkungen sind eines der zentralen Motive des Buches, in dem die Bedingungen des Landtransports für die antike Wirtschaft erstmals eingehend untersucht und gewürdigt erscheinen.

So rundum zustimmend man Adams' Ausführungen auf weiten Strecken folgen kann, so wenig ist freilich darüber hinwegzusehen, daß man aufgrund genau derselben Evidenz zu einem gerade entgegengesetzten Bild der römischen Herrschaft in Ägypten gelangen kann. Dies sei an nur einem Beispiel verdeutlicht: Wenn der *praefectus Aegypti* nach zwei Dokumenten ein und desselben Jahres mit besonderer Begründung eine Requisition von Kamelen anordnet, läßt sich dies gewiß als wünschenswerter Beleg des "Systems" deuten (so Adams S. 147), aber ebenso gut als seltene Ausnahme, was mir vielmehr,

wie ich an anderem Ort eingehend dargelegt habe,¹ das Richtigere zu treffen scheint. Es ist hier weder Platz noch Ort, diese Differenzen im einzelnen auszudiskutieren, doch liegen die Auswirkungen auf die gesamte Darstellung von Roms Herrschaft über das Nilland auf der Hand. So würde ich denn auch von dem letzten, zusammenfassenden Absatz des fraglichen Kapitels allenfalls unterschreiben, daß Ägypten eine reiche Provinz war, gelegentlich auch hier Probleme mit der Armee auftraten und staatlicher Weise ein Entgelt für den Ankauf von Tieren gezahlt wurde. Das von Adams gezeichnete Szenario – “This and other annual requisitions meant that few animal-owners would ever have been spared the inconvenience and expense of having their animals requisitioned by the state” (S. 155), einer Gesellschaft also, die gleichsam ständig unter dem Damoklesschwert lebte, den Tierbestand und damit lebenswichtiges Betriebskapital von der Staatsmacht vereinnahmt zu sehen, halte ich dagegen für weit übertrieben. Zum einen müßten dann auch sehr viel mehr eindeutige Quellenbelege, vor allem auch diesbezügliche Klagen in den Papyri zu finden sein; zum anderen steht völlig offen, wie ein solches auf reinem Zwang beruhendes System überhaupt je – und gar auf Dauer! – hätte funktionieren sollen, zumal mit den begrenzten Mitteln der antiken Verwaltung.

Nach Adams sei die grundsätzlich repressive Herrschaft Roms indes an der Ausgestaltung der staatlichen Kontrolle abzulesen, die primär auf den Überblick über potentiell requirierbare Kapazitäten zielte. Zu schließen sei dies aus dem recht komplexen Verfahren mit “different types of declarations, perhaps in two tiers: first, the registrations of animals for particular taxes ...; and second, the registration of livestock as part of a monitoring process for the number of animals held in animals and nomes” (S. 121). Wie Thomas Kruse inzwischen detailliert nachgewiesen hat, sind die allfälligen Differenzen indes vornehmlich durch Zeitstellung, Entstehungsort und Tierart bedingt und besitzen insoweit rein formale, jedoch keine materielle Bedeutung.² Zudem haben wir es nur mit einem einzigen, allerdings je nach Tierart unterschiedlich gestalteten Vorgang der Erfassung des Viehbestandes zu steuerlichen Zwecken zu tun. Dies zeigen gerade auch die gelegentlichen Hinweise auf eine staatliche Inanspruchnahme, da in solchen Fällen, wie Adams (S. 123) selbst bemerkt, die übliche Steuerleistung entfiel.

Auch das zweite von Adams angeführte Indiz für den angeblich permanent drohenden Zugriff Roms – daß sich die bäuerliche Bevölkerung in ihrer prekären Lage zu möglichst günstigen Formen der Investition wie Teileigen-

¹ Vgl. demnächst A. Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti* (Historia Einzelschriften 175; Stuttgart, im Druck).

² Th. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (München und Leipzig 2002), besonders S. 180 ff.

tum oder Miete gezwungen sah – vermag bei genauerer Betrachtung nicht zu tragen. Denn ersteres ist vornehmlich Folge der üblichen Erbteilungen, während letzteres gegenüber den einigen Dutzend Eselkäufen doch eine eher marginale Rolle spielt. Auch wenn Adams zweifellos zustimmen ist, daß “many small farmers could not afford to buy and maintain animals” (S. 102) – mehrere Tiere werden in der Tat nur selten vorhanden gewesen sein, – spricht es doch für sich, daß der typische Käufer Kleinbauer ist. Wenigstens einen Esel trachtete man demnach auf dem Hofe zu halten, selbst wenn dies eine erhebliche Investition bedeutete. Ein Vergleich mit modernen Transportmitteln bietet sich geradezu an, wo ebenfalls mancher sich sehr viel mehr leistet, als man ihm von seinen Verdienstmöglichkeiten her zutrauen würde. Abgesehen davon werden, nicht anders als heute bei Autos, stets auch Tiere für bescheidenere Ansprüche auf dem Markt gewesen sein; zudem belief sich allein die jährliche Kopfsteuer im Arsinoites für jedes männliche Haushaltsmitglied über 14 Jahre schon auf ein Viertel des durchschnittlichen Eselpreises, was aber offenbar auch bewältigbar war.

Trotz der überzeugenden, mit zahlreichen wertvollen Einzelbeobachtungen gespickten Ausführungen zum Landtransport als solchen ist auf diese Weise jedoch ein in vielerlei Hinsicht schiefes Bild von der römischen Herrschaft in Ägypten entstanden. Als mißlich erweist sich vor allem, daß Adams das bereits erwähnte, 2002 erschienene monumentale Werk von Thomas Kruse zum Königlichen Schreiber nicht mehr zur Kenntnis genommen hat, das ihn vielleicht doch manche Aussage hätte überdenken lassen.³ Vor einer unkritischen Übernahme seiner Deutungen ist insofern nur zu warnen, zumindest wird man auf weiterem Diskussionsbedarf beharren müssen. Wäre dies nicht eine der Hauptthesen des Buches, würde ich nicht zögern, es jedem Wirtschafts- und Sozialhistoriker wärmstens ans Herz zu legen. Thema, Klarheit

³ Dies etwa auch zu einer Detailfrage wie derjenigen, daß die Dekaproten nach Kruse, (Anm. 2) 945 ff. entgegen der auch noch von Adams S. 170 wiedergegebenen Auffassung nicht an die Stelle der Sitologen, sondern eben des βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς traten. Noch eine weitere Detailkorrektur: Der berühmte *P.Hib.* 1.110 wurde bei dem antiken Ankyronon polis am Ostufer des Nils gefunden, hat also entgegen Adams S. 137 nichts mit Hibis in der Großen Oase zu tun. Ein wiederholtes Problem stellt zudem die mangelnde Abgrenzung der von *nomographoi* geleiteten *grapheia*, die für privatrechtliche Verträge zuständig waren, von den staatlichen Amtsträgern und ihren Büros dar. So hat der angeblich gemeinsame Fund von Kamelkaufverträgen im Grapheion von Soknopaiou Nesos, auf den Adams S.125 verweist, nichts mit Deklarationen zu tun, abgesehen davon, daß es sich ohnehin nur um eine Vermutung von Préaux handelte; “*nomographeis*, notaries” S. 184 ist sogar, wie auch die Endung anzeigen mag, eine Verschreibung für *hypographeis*, Schreibgehilfen. Solche sachlichen Fehler sind allerdings die Ausnahme, und selbst Druckfehler halten sich insgesamt in erfreulichen Grenzen.

in Aufbau und Darstellung und nicht zuletzt die Fülle der auf engstem Raum dargebotenen Erkenntnisse machen es zu einem Standardwerk der papyrologischen wie der althistorischen Literatur. Dennoch kann es aus besagtem Grund nur mit Vorbehalt empfohlen werden.

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Edda Bresciani, Antonio Giammarusti, Rosario Pintaudi, and Flora Silvano (eds.), *Medinet Madi. Venti anni di esplorazione archeologica, 1984-2005*. Pisa: Università di Pisa, 2006. 345 pages.

Medinet Madi, ancient Narmouthis, was first explored by the University of Milan in the 1930s and then again in the 1960s. The earlier excavations yielded two spectacular finds: the hymns of Isidoros (see V.F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidoros and the Cult of Isis*) and the cache of Demotic-Greek ostraca published as *O.Narm.* and *O.Narm.dem.* 1-3 (and counting). Edda Bresciani, who had earlier produced preliminary reports on the 1960s excavations, moved the project to the University of Pisa, which continues its activity on the site, since 1995 in conjunction with the University of Messina. In this volume, an overview of the results of the past twenty years is given. It includes chapters on the various structures excavated: the Middle Kingdom temple A with its Graeco-Roman expansions including temple B at its back; temple C; the Graeco-Roman town to its south; and “Coptic” Narmuthis, limited to the churches identified in the town. The churches were explored before the project moved to temple C and the rest of the town, which has not yet been explored in its entirety – far from it.

The volume very helpfully reprints articles on the finds that have earlier appeared in journals such as *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* and in hard-to-find congress volumes. These articles and the individual lists of finds complement the chapters on the architecture.

The Middle Kingdom temple A, a rather small temple *in antis*, was built by Amenemhat III and its decoration completed by Amenemhat IV. It was dedicated to the cobra goddess Renenutet, who gave her name to the town in the Graeco-Roman period. Antonio Giammarusti (pp. 9-21) gives nice reconstructions of the temple, while Bresciani (pp. 22-41) does the same for the decoration. Both these chapters include key plans of the temple in the margin with an indication of where the feature illustrated and discussed in the text is located. Giammarusti (pp. 42-65) continues the discussion of the temple by focusing on the Graeco-Roman expansions at the front and the back of the temple (illustrated in the plan on p. 59), especially temple B at the back.

Bresciani, Giammarusti, Peter Grossmann and Carla Marchini (pp. 67-83) go over the churches in the town, and Carlo La Torre (pp. 84-89) provides illustrations of architectural details for two of them. The finds were reported on earlier, by Flora Silvano (pp. 90-111) in her 1999 book on the glass (*Vetri bizantini dall'Egitto*) and by Tito Orlandi (pp. 112-127) on the seventh/eighth-century Coptic papyrus codex fragment with the *Historia Horsesi* in *EVO*.

Temple C is next. Bresciani and Giammarusti (pp. 129-145) report on this, especially on the crocodile “nursery” (so in the Italian text). Giammarusti (146-153) adds architectural drawings (elevation, etc.). The finds are reported on in three ways: by simple lists of finds with occasional illustrations (pp. 154 – including 23 glass frames with Greek and Demotic papyrus fragments – and 163-166), by a more extensive report reprinted from elsewhere (by Silvano, pp. 155-162, again on the glass), and by a revised version of an MA thesis on the ceramics written at the University of Pisa (by Giovanna Bartoli, pp. 167-222).

Bresciani (pp. 225-251) and Giammarusti (pp. 252-261) continue with a survey of the town. Especially impressive is the more or less regular street plan (p. 225; more detail on p. 257) that has emerged from the interpretation of aerial photography (such as on p. 253) in combination with a GPS survey of the site by Walter Ferri. Actual excavation of structures on the site progresses at a modest pace of one a year. The finds are again reported on in the form of simple lists with some illustrations (pp. 262 – including 85 glass frames with Greek, Demotic, Hieratic, and even Hieroglyphic papyrus fragments; three ostraca, two Greek and one Demotic; and three dipinti, – 278, 288, 296-299, 312-314) and by reprinting reports that appear elsewhere (by Rosario Pintaudi, pp. 263-264, on a horoscope; by Angiolo Menchetti, pp. 265-277, on second-century AD Demotic, Hieratic, and Hieroglyphic texts – one of the Demotic documents, p. 268, has a bit of Greek on the back; by Georges Nachtergaele and Pintaudi, pp. 296-297, on a “plomb monétiforme” for which an illustration appears in *Analecta Papyrologica* 14-15, 2002-2003, 296; by Daniele Castrizio, pp. 280-287, on the coins; by Silvano, pp. 289-295, on the relief-decorated faience this time; by Silvano, M.P. Columbini, F. Modugno, and E. Ribechini, pp. 300-305, on Late Roman Amphorae; by the same with C. Colombo and L. Toniolo, pp. 306-311, on their chemical composition; and by Simona Russo, pp. 315-323, on the shoes). Miscellaneous finds are reported on in another article by Nachtergaele and Pintaudi (pp. 324-333).

An appendix by Michele Pipan (pp. 334-337) deals with the geophysical characteristics of the site. Another on the restoration of the decoration of the chapel of Alexander at Kom Madi by Gianluigi Nicola and Roberto G. Arosio (pp. 338-345) seems unrelated.

All in all, an extremely welcome volume. In combination with the results of the Franco-Italian excavations at Tebtynis, it provides a sense of what larger villages in the Fayyum looked like. Although the modern excavations will never rival the quantity of data retrieved by the University of Michigan at Karanis in the 1920s and 1930s, their slower pace certainly makes for better quality of the data retrieved and, as here, presented in accessible form.

Roberta Tomber, Kathryn Knowles, Donald Bailey, and Ross Thomas, *Mons Claudianus: Survey and Excavation, 1987-1993*, Vol. III: Ceramic Vessels and Related Objects, with a contribution by Hélène Cuvigny. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 54. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2006. xxii + 450 pages. ISBN 2-7247-0428-2.

Ceramic Vessels and Related Objects is the third of the projected five volumes on the excavations at Mons Claudianus, the Hydreuma, and Barud, the imperial Roman granodiorite quarries in the central Eastern Desert of Egypt. Volume 1 on the topography and quarries and Volume 2, part 1 on part of the excavations have already appeared, as have three volumes of ostraca.¹ Taken together, these books will provide an immense amount of information about a remarkable site. Taken by itself, *Ceramic Vessels and Related Objects* is a thorough, technical study of the pottery, faience, dipinti, jar stoppers, terracottas, lamps, and other objects retrieved from the excavations.

The amount of pottery excavated at Mons Claudianus is staggering, one tonne or more having been collected during each of seven field seasons. Thus only diagnostics and special sherds could be processed. In chapter 1, "The Pottery," Tomber clearly defines her methodology and terms: "ware" means fine-ware, tableware, cooking ware, amphorae, dolia, miscellaneous and reworked vessels, and faience, whereas "fabric" means marl, silt, or other clays. All of the Egyptian fabrics are technically defined: silt or alluvium (Hayes Egyptian Red Slip B or Rodziewicz Group K), marl, Aswan (Hayes Egyptian Red Slip A or Rodziewicz Group O), and northwest coast. The problem of mixed fabrics is also discussed. The catalogue is further broken down into "forms," meaning "flagons and jugs," "beakers, mugs, and cups," and so on through to "dolia." Abbreviations are explained, sampling points are plotted, and the statistics are adequate to define quantitatively terms like "dominant" or "rare." If there are problems, they are the ones inherent in any pottery corpus, such as those connected with heirlooms or redeposition.

The actual, detailed pottery corpus (sections I.4 through I.12 and I.14) does not exactly follow the "ware" and "form" breakdown noted above, but a more standard and user-friendly grouping. Thus Tomber starts with "Im-

¹ D.P.S. Peacock and V.A. Maxfield, *Mons Claudianus: Survey and Excavation, 1987-1993*, Vol. I: Topography and Quarries, Fouilles de l'Ifao 37 (Cairo 1997), reviewed in *BASP* 37 (2000) 211-218; V.A. Maxfield and D.P.S. Peacock, *Mons Claudianus: Survey and Excavation, 1987-1993*, Vol. II: Excavations, Part 1, Fouilles de l'Ifao 43 (Cairo 2001); and *O.Claud.* 1-3.

ported Red-slipped wares." For the Eastern Sigillata A and B she follows Hayes' typology, and for the Cypriot Sigillata, the Paphos types. African Red Slip is discussed, as well as one unique sherd that might be Pontic Sigillata (p. 25). Section I.5 "Thin-walled wares," including barbotine, is where Tomber starts her Mons Claudianus typology. This and each of the following "ware" sections begins with a brief discussion of terms, dates, and sometimes possible places of manufacture. Each "ware," e.g., "thin-walled" or "flagons and jars," is broken down into as many as 140 types. Possible confusion is eliminated by the illustrations and by numbering the published sherds consecutively from 1 to 1107. Thus Type 1 (1-46) is a "thin-walled ware," and Type 1 (1-496) is in the "bowls, dishes, and casseroles" category. Each type has an individual note on its comparanda, dating, and frequency, e.g., "sparse." The drawings and photographs (all black and white) are excellent and abundant, and there are essentially no errors in cross-referencing figures, types, or sherd numbers.

The section on faience (I.6) includes 22 types, though only four are common. "Flagons and beakers" comprise 92 types, and "Jars and cooking pots," including oversize jars and dolia, 98 types. "Bowls, dishes, and casseroles" (140 types) are abundant and include many Egyptian Red Slip and Aswan fabrics. "Casseroles" are generally sooted, as are "shallow casseroles" that would otherwise simply be called "shallow bowls." This category also includes skillets with spout-like handles, "necked casseroles," mortaria, and a crude, handmade bread tray (p. 133). Tomber is a "splitter." The difference between, say, "necked casserole" type 106, sherd 720 (pp. 125-126) and "deep casserole" type 66, sherd 649 (pp. 116-117) is fine indeed. This kind of classification problem is inherent in almost any pottery corpus, but Tomber's typology will at least permit "lumpers" to group categories as needed.

The corpus continues with "lids" (I.10), "inkwells (I.11)," and "amphorae (I.12). Not surprisingly, the section on amphorae is lengthy. For one thing, Egyptian amphorae are the most abundant category of pottery on site, up to 76% of the total in the Trajanic period deposits (p. 197). This is to be expected at a remote desert site that had to be supplied entirely from the Nile valley. For another, the imported amphorae indicate far-flung trading connections, even if indirect. There are Spanish amphorae for *defrutum* (boiled down must) or fish products, amphorae from Gaul, Italy, North Africa, Gaza, Palestine, Rhodes and related workshops, Crete, the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, Cilicia, and perhaps even Ephesus (p. 158). Hélène Cuvigny contributes a tantalizing section (I.13) on nine out of at least a thousand dipinti. The ones chosen note amphorae contents, most commonly wine but also τὰριχον (salted or pickled meat or fish), olives, or vinegar, or titles such as decurion or centurion, or addresses. The unusual "Reworked vessels" (I.15) are not just sherd disks or

scrapers but whole new vessels such as beakers, small bowls, or funnels cut from the spikes of amphorae or even thick cooking pots. The “reworked vessels” are neatly carved, often decorated with excised or incised designs, and generally coated with a smooth black surface; they look like a local craft.

The value of this enormous, meticulous pottery corpus is further enhanced by its close dating, primarily by association with ostraca. The usual dating problems have to be taken into consideration, but nonetheless the Mons Claudianus corpus will help refine the chronology of early Roman pottery in Egypt. Mons Claudianus was founded in the reign of Domitian, ca. AD 85/6, though remains at the slightly older Hydreuma seem to go back to the time of Nero. The quarries and hence the town were heavily used in the reign of Trajan, less so under Hadrian, and heavily in the Antonine period. Then they declined in the Severan period until the site was abandoned. No further activity took place at the site until archaeological investigation and tourist visits in the twentieth century. At this point in the discussion Tomber introduces a third “ware” grouping in order to hunt for chronological markers. A few can be picked out, e.g., a special type of strainer jar (p. 201), but far more interesting is the discussion of the pottery supply to Mons Claudianus (pp. 209-217). It covers amphorae and their contents and official and unofficial supply lines, a kind of economic history not covered by official chronicles.

The latter half of the book is given over to vessel stoppers, figurines, ceramic objects, and lamps. Thomas and Tomber’s chapter on vessel stoppers treats not only the types of plugs but also what kind of vessel was being stoppered, contents, stamps or inscriptions upon the stoppers, the distribution of types of seals, and what can be said about supply lines, suppliers, and owners. Excavated terracotta figurines are generally fragmentary. Those from Mons Claudianus, covered in chapter 3 by Bailey, are no exception, but they are well dated and therefore should be valuable for dating figurines from old excavations. This chapter also includes eleven plaster ornaments, plaques, and figurines and one extraordinary small sculpture of Laocoön (pp. 284-285).

Chapter 4, by Tomber, is a catchall of miscellaneous ceramic objects: a ring, a ball, a tube, a plug, the rare bricks and tiles, stoppers, labels, incense burners, spindle whorls, and sherd disks. Far and away the most interesting items are graffiti painted or scratched on potsherds. They include a bust of Pluto (?), a list of words that might be a school exercise, an elegant sketch of a cavalryman on his horse (the frontispiece of the volume), Serapis, Icarus (?), a satyr, a retiarius, a hunter and large feline, a charioteer (?), a circus horse and altar, a lion, a horse, a camel, a falcon-headed Horus, architectural elements, a potstand supporting an amphora with a ladle dangling from its rim, a crater,

several phalluses, and what appear to be tally marks. Some of these elements, such as the retiarius, are remote indeed from Mons Claudianus.

Knowles' chapter on lamps is extremely detailed, but as with the terracottas, it is a chance to improve the dating of an entire category of objects. For instance, the presence of a large number of frog lamps shows that these relatively common items can now be dated back to the first century AD. Knowles uses a new typology based on shape first and then on decoration that attempts to be "flexible and expandable" (p. 309); it even takes note of the ceramic fabric. The result is a very finely graded typology with labels such as "Type AI.3a(ii)." Fortunately the lamps are all clarified by black and white photographs. On the one hand, the lamps present at Mons Claudianus are the types selected for one reason or another for shipping to a remote quarry site. On the other hand, it is a large corpus, 815 lamps, of which about a hundred are complete or nearly so. Finally, Knowles includes a very useful survey of lamps and lampmaking in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.

What *Ceramic Vessels and Related Objects* does not address is what a remarkable site Mons Claudianus is. It is so complete and intact that it can be compared to Pompeii. It provides insights into a special imperial Roman activity, column quarrying. It has a spectacular location in the rugged Precambrian mountains of the Eastern Desert. For once, the timely publication of texts by Cuvigny and colleagues, the quarries and forts by Peacock, Maxfield, and their colleagues, and the pottery and small finds by Tomber and her associates permits scholars to study the archaeological remains alongside the texts, or vice versa. As a stand-alone volume, *Ceramic Vessels and Related Objects* will be most useful to archaeologists seeking comparanda for their own material, but as part of the publication series, it is of great value to those interested in Roman archaeology, ancient texts in context, frontier studies, or ancient economics.

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Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. xxiii + 334 pages + 12 colour plates. ISBN 0-19-927665-X.

Funerary art in Roman Egypt is often associated with the “Greek,” naturalistic Fayyum portraits. Yet, even if naturalistic representations became fashionable in Egypt in the course of the Graeco-Roman period, this does not mean that there was no continuity with the past, as is the case with Ancient Egyptian religion in general, and that the traditional ways of portraying the dead were abandoned. This book tries to redress the balance by leaving out the naturalistic portraits and devoting an entire study to traditional, “Egyptian” paintings on, for example, coffins, shrouds and mummy masks. When naturalistic painting is referred to, it always figures within an immediately “Egyptian” context. This study therefore takes a highly original approach and is an important contribution to the topic.¹

The book has been published in the prestigious, and appropriate, series “Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation.” It is lavishly illustrated, with one high quality black-and-white figure for every two pages of the main body of the text and twelve beautiful colour plates. The author of the book, Christina Riggs (henceforth: R.), was Curator of Egyptology at the Manchester Museum and now teaches at the School of World Art Studies at the University of East Anglia. She has already written several important articles on the topic. The book is divided into five chapters, the first and last of which form the introduction and conclusions, thus leaving three chapters in between for the main presentation of the material.

In Chapter 1, “Introduction: Art, Identity and Funerary Religion,” R. sets out an ambitious program, namely to describe the interaction between “Greek” and “Egyptian” art forms against the background of traditional funerary religion. Her analysis is based on three loosely related themes, namely art, identity and funerary religion. In the section on art, R. successfully demonstrates that “Greek” and “Egyptian” elements formed a set of representational choices. These choices depended on the identity of the person in question, the theme of the next section. R.’s main point here is that Egyptian-ness and Greek-ness were used to construct identities and that these identities depended on a given place and time. Representational choices in funerary art were further determined, as appears from the next section, by the ongoing engagement with Egyptian funerary beliefs, which were themselves developing in this period. In

¹ I would like to thank R.W. Burgess for correcting my English.

the final section, R. gives an overview of previous scholarship, and indicates where her approach differs from it.

The following three chapters contain several case studies that illustrate the ideas that R. presents in her introduction. Rather than always discussing objects in isolation, these case studies mostly concern groups of objects, and this has the advantage that objects can be studied together in terms of place and date. Consequently, each group is analysed with particular attention to the history and topography of the site, and the archaeological context of the artefacts (if there is any). In Chapter 2 ("Osiris, Hathor, and the Gendered Dead"), R. discusses two groups of coffins, the former from the Kharga Oasis and the latter from Akhmim (Panopolis) dating to the first century BCE or the first half of the first century CE. This is the earliest material R. discusses, and she shows that gender differences were often indicated on these coffins through the portrayal of women as the goddess Hathor and men as the god Osiris. Naturalistic elements in the Akhmim coffins are minimal, and there are only a few instances in those from the oasis.

In Chapter 3 ("Portraying the Dead"), R. continues with a group of mummy masks from Meir in Middle Egypt and many other materials dating to the first and second centuries CE in order to illustrate the expansion of naturalistic representation in the Roman period. Yet, R. always clearly points out that these representations figure within an Egyptian context and conform to Egyptian ways of thinking about death and the dead.

Chapter 4 ("Art and Archaism in Western Thebes"), finally, contains a diachronic description of Roman funerary art on the west bank of Thebes. Among the materials discussed is the "Soter group," a second-century CE miscellaneous group of coffins and shrouds from the Theban necropolis; the late second-century CE Pebos family burials found, surprisingly, in the reused basement of a house in Deir el-Medina; and the Deir el-Bahari mummy masks, which are among the last of their kind, dating to the end of the third century CE. What strikes the viewer of this material from Western Thebes is its conservatism; yet even here naturalistic elements began to seep through from the second century CE onwards.

In Chapter 5 ("Conclusions: The 'Beautiful Burial' in Roman Egypt"), R. summarizes her points once more, with the help of even more examples. The book concludes with an appendix of almost 50 pages containing a list of 150 artefacts discussed in the text, with short descriptions and references, and a bibliography, as well as a register of museums where the artefacts discussed in the main text can be found and a short general index.

R. is at her best when she is describing the artefacts. The descriptions are meticulous and precise. Together with the excellent quality of the illustrations

this makes for an exciting reading with many original observations. The coffin of Panakht, one of the five coffins from the Kharga Oasis, is a particularly good example (pp. 57-61). This coffin is entirely "Egyptian" in style except for the head, chest, and hands which have been moulded in Greek style and stand out as a young ephebe as against the rest of the mummy. With this example, R. shows that this difference between the coffin of Panakht and the other coffins does not point to a chronological development from "Egyptian" to "Greek" – for the coffins have much in common and are from the same artist or workshop, – but that the group forms a unity in which different choices of representation could be made.

Leaving aside the excellent quality of the art historical observations in R.'s book, however, I would like to make a few cautionary remarks about the occasions where she steps outside her area of expertise, especially when she discusses Greek inscriptions. First of all, among the Meir mummy masks, she mentions a Greek inscription on linen for one "Taturis, daughter of Poremonthis" (pp. 109-110). The translation, which is given both in the main text and next to a photograph of the inscription (Fig. 47), does not match the Greek as visible on the same photograph, for there it says Τατούις. The reason for this mistake becomes clear on p. 120, where R. gives the text of several Greek inscriptions from Meir (without any discussion of the Greek, though; the letters o and v in Πορεμόνθου are unclear, but R. does not indicate this) with translations and references to editions: she has taken over the mistaken reading from SB 1.5984, which was however corrected by P.W. Pestman in *BL* 6:133, on the basis of the published photograph.

Even less satisfactory is R.'s treatment of the Greek coffin inscriptions from the Pebos group. The coffins were discovered by Bernard Bruyère in Deir el-Medina in 1935. After an introduction to this discovery and a discussion of the mummy masks found with the coffins, R. turns to the inscriptions on the coffins, which were edited by the well-known papyrologist André Bataille in the first archaeological report on the discovery.² On p. 214 R. gives the Greek text of the inscriptions, together with English translations. The reader is at a loss here because there are no references to the editions used, as is the case with the inscriptions from Meir. In fact, the reader has to go to the appendix to find a reference to the inscriptions under the entry of the mummy masks belonging to the coffins on which the inscriptions were found (pp. 291-293). Furthermore, comparison of one of the inscriptions with the facsimile reproduction that R. has provided on the facing page (Fig. 105; the inscription comes from coffin 5), suggests that she has not put much effort into transcribing the Greek

² B. Bruyère and A. Bataille, "Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh," *BIFAO* 36 (1936-1937) 145-174 at 164-174.

correctly, for she prints νεωκόπους instead of νεωκόπου. When the reader finally consults the edition of Bataille, it appears that the Greek as printed by R. is full of such small mistakes.³

This does not give one much confidence in R.'s discussion of the contents of these inscriptions, and, indeed, the argumentation here is not strong. For example, in the above-mentioned coffin 5 "of Krates, son of Psenmonthes also known as Pebos, son of Krates..." R. argues that Psenmonthes/Pebos should be identified with the "Pebos, son of Krates" mentioned on another coffin, no. 2. However, it is hard to accept this identification, because the second Pebos does not have an alias. Therefore Bataille's solution that he and Psenmonthes/Pebos were brothers (and that the Krates of coffin 5 was a nephew of the Pebos of coffin 2) remains more likely than the one proposed by R. Her comment that "this solution (...) has the pleasing result that young Krates (...) bears his paternal grandfather's name, in keeping with Egyptian practice" is irrelevant because we already know that Krates' grandfather was also called Krates from the inscription on coffin 5 itself; we do not need the text of coffin 2 for that.

In sum, despite these problems in the presentation and interpretation of texts outside of R.'s field of specialization, this work is of tremendous importance for the study of the funerary art of Roman Egypt. R. has convincingly shown that naturalistic depictions belonged to a whole set of representational choices in funerary art during this period and that they could meaningfully figure within a traditional, "Egyptian" context. The study also proves that traditional ways of representing the dead were quite common until the end of the third century CE. The author should moreover be credited with bringing together for the first time a wealth of material, most of which has hitherto remained relatively understudied. Her book opens up new avenues for approaching Egyptian funerary art in the Roman period and will undoubtedly become a standard point of departure for anyone who wants to conduct research in this area.

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³ Take, for example, the first part of the inscription on coffin 1, in which R. makes four mistakes within eleven words including Ἀμφιώνιος for Ἀμφιώνιος (although the translation "of Amphiomis" is taken over correctly; same mistake with text 2 of coffin 1).

Jitse Dijkstra and Mathilde van Dijk (eds.), *The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006). viii + 288 pages. ISBN 90-04-15530-9. (Reprinted from *Church History and Religious Culture* 86, 2006, 1-288.)

This volume represents the fruitful results of an expanding vision that began with an invitation to David Frankfurter to attend the public defense of Jitse Dijkstra's dissertation on *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity (AD 298-642)* at the University of Groningen and to give a lecture while there. Given the presence of two additional experts on Egyptian hagiography at the defense, Jacques van der Vliet and Peter van Minnen, the plan expanded to include their responses to Frankfurter's lecture from the perspectives of their respective fields. Further discussions within the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Groningen uncovered an interest in the continuing influence and use of the Egyptian desert material in the medieval west (Mathilde van Dijk), which led to the further expansion of the program into a two-day workshop exploring the nature of Egyptian hagiography and its abiding influence in the early and later Middle Ages.

The papers presented at the workshop became the basis for this volume. As in the workshop, they divide rather sharply between the first three on Egyptian hagiography and the final six on various examples of its continuing influence in the early and later Middle Ages. In order to better connect the two halves of the volume, the editors invited an additional paper by Claudia Rapp on the "Desert, City, and Countryside in Early Christian Imagination." Her paper takes the reader from the narrower focus on Egypt found in the first three papers to the broader reach of Egypt in later Christian imagination evidenced in the final six essays.

Given the origin of the volume, it comes as no surprise that the first three papers are more integrally connected than the others. In his lead essay, "Hagiography and the Reconstruction of Local Religion in Late Antique Egypt: Memories, Inventions, and Landscapes," David Frankfurter continues his efforts to uncover evidence of local Egyptian religion through the examination of select episodes found in sources of Egyptian hagiography. While his careful approach underscores the difficulty in separating useful evidence of an earlier period from later authorial elaboration and fancy, his conclusions have remained the subject of considerable debate as evidenced by the following two papers. Jacques van der Vliet ("Bringing Home the Homeless: Landscape and History in Egyptian Hagiography") borrows from Frankfurter's notion

of landscape, but understands it in terms of the hagiographer's creation of a Christian landscape in which the preservation of accurate memories of the past has little import. While his paper offers an indirect challenge to Frankfurter's efforts, Peter van Minnen's essay ("Saving History? Egyptian Hagiography in its Time and Place") confronts Frankfurter's examples and conclusions more directly. In his analysis, "Egyptian hagiography does not build on authentic memory of what happened in the fourth century, but amounts to an imaginative explanation-after-the-fact" (p. 57). Together the three papers offer a fascinating interconnected tour through the methodological minefield of Egyptian hagiography, underscoring the depth of the debate among those who work in this field. Can one recover from such sources any evidence of the past they purport to describe, or is the past forever lost beneath the authors' imaginative explanation after-the-fact? These three papers offer a fine, detailed entrée into the issues.

Claudia Rapp's paper, which traces the development of ascetic themes in Egypt and beyond, supplies a bridge to the essays that follow. Their unity lies in a shared interest in the continuing influence of the Egyptian desert in the western Middle Ages. The interactive authorial discussion apparent in the first part of the volume drops away in the second half as each author explores the import of the Egyptian tradition in a specific case. Each study, fascinating in its own right, easily stands alone.

Conrad Leyser ("The Uses of the Desert in the Sixth-Century West") explores the desert in the writings of three bishops (Caesarius of Arles, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Gregory of Tours) and two monastic sources (*Life of the Jura Fathers* and the *Rule* of Saint Benedict), arguing that the medieval institutions of the episcopacy and the monastery derive ultimately from a continuing memory of the desert. Lynda Coon ("Collecting the Desert in the Carolingian West") employs Elsner's notion of an "aesthetic of bricolage" in a fascinating study of how the literary, visual, and ritual evidence of the Carolingian period worked together "to incorporate, manage, and supersede the legacy of the Egyptian past" (p. 162). Bert Roest ("The Franciscan Hermit: Seeker, Prisoner, Refugee") and Eric L. Saak ("*Ex Vita Patrum Formatur Vita Fratrum*: The Appropriation of the Desert Fathers in the Augustinian Monasticism of the Later Middle Ages") respectively illustrate the abiding influence of the desert fathers in the Franciscan and Augustinian traditions. Gabriela Signori ("Nikolaus of Flüe (†1487): Physiognomies of a Late Medieval Ascetic") raises intriguing questions about how one recognized a saint and what one expected a saint to look like. She traces the various portrayals of Nikolaus of Flüe (Brother Klaus) in the literature of the period, revealing how the physiognomy of the saint "corresponds less with what one sees and more with what one expects to see"

(p. 254). The final paper by Mathilde van Dijk ("Disciples of the Deep Desert: Windesheim Biographers and the Imitation of the Desert Fathers") explores the ways in which those practising the *Devotio Moderna* in the Chapter of Windesheim appropriated and moulded the material on the desert fathers so as to present themselves as their successors. She explores biographies written by male and female members of the chapter (*De viris illustribus* and the Diepenveen sisterbook) and uncovers fascinating evidence on the impact of gender on the process and results of the appropriation. The volume includes a helpful introduction that briefly summarizes the various papers and an index of names.

There is much of interest in this collection of essays. As noted above, the first three papers work particularly well together, introducing the reader to the sophisticated debate over the use of Egyptian hagiography in the reconstruction of history. The other papers, while more tenuously bound together by a common interest in the continuing influence of the Egyptian ascetic tradition in the western Middle Ages, offer valuable evidence and intriguing methodological insights. This well-produced volume will appeal primarily to specialists in the fields of late antiquity, Coptic Egypt and the western Middle Ages. Its hefty price (\$235), however, will keep it out of most personal libraries.

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Caroline T. Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. 237 pages. ISBN 0-8122-3990-3.

This is an important book. Interest in the writings of the fifth-century Upper Egyptian ascetic Shenoute has increased considerably in recent years as a result of the clarity brought to the manuscript tradition by Stephen Emmel's 1993 Yale University dissertation on *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, subsequently published by Peeters in two volumes under the same title in 2004 (CSCO Subsidia 111-112). Organized into nine *Canons* and eight *Discourses*, Shenoute's immense literary output offers investigators direct access into the working world of a late antique coenobitic monastery. While the corpus survives incomplete, what remains offers tantalizing evidence of the practices and struggles of the community both within its walls and beyond. Schroeder's monograph is only the second one published since J. Leipoldt's 1903 *Shenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums*, and it moves beyond R. Krawiec's *Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery* (2002) in its effort to identify and illuminate the unique nature of Shenoute's ascetic ideology and situate it within the broader context of Upper Egyptian monasticism.

Schroeder examines Shenoute's ideology of the communal ascetic life through a well thought out and methodologically sophisticated lens. For Shenoute, bodily asceticism extends beyond the efforts of the individual monk to incorporate the communal body of the monastery as a whole, represented both by the sum of its individual members and by its physical buildings. Shenoute's rise to power within the White Monastery followed his vigorous challenge to the current leader's authority. Shenoute interpreted his predecessor's lack of discipline and leniency towards certain monks as a threat to the community's integrity and its individual members' salvation. His ascetic ideology, which grew out of this early experience, drew on biblical notions of community and purity. Ascetic discipline served to purify the individual's monastic body, which together with the other purified bodies of the community's individual members purified the monastery or social body as a whole. Sin, understood as pollution, in turn threatened not only the individual ascetic, but also the community. As in ancient Israel, the individual's favor with God (and salvation) depended not only on his or her own purity, but on the purity of the community as a whole. The purity of the social body must therefore be guarded lest the pollution of one member spread like a disease, corrupting the monastic body and threatening the salvation of every individual.

Schroeder's organization and the clarity of her prose allow easy access to her thesis. The volume includes an extensive introduction, four well-composed chapters, a brief conclusion, extensive notes, a bibliography, and a useful index. Schroeder begins by introducing the reader to Shenoute and his place in the broader landscape of early Christian asceticism. The introduction also outlines the methodological approach and intended scope of the study. The first chapter, "Bodily Discipline and Monastic Authority: Shenoute's Earliest Letters to the Monastery," explores the initial development of Shenoute's ideology in the period of his conflict with his immediate predecessor. Schroeder's cautious and judicious interpretation of these early letters illuminates the origins of the ideology and outlines its basic components. The second chapter, "The Ritualizing of the Monastic Body: Shenoute's Rules," focuses on the subsequent institutionalizing of the ideology through the rules Shenoute imposed on his monastic federation. It offers a fascinating study of the rules, illustrating their underlying foundation in Shenoute's ideology of purity and pollution. A particularly important aspect of this chapter lies in its revelation of the unique nature of Shenoute's ideology when viewed against that of the nearby Pachomian monastic federation. Expulsion, for example, which was rare in the Pachomian community, became a frequent form of punishment in Shenoute's monasteries, a necessity called forth by the desire to maintain the purity of the corporate monastic body. The intriguing third chapter, "The Church Building as Symbol of Ascetic Renunciation," explores Shenoute's incorporation of the major new basilica in his monastery and its surrounding buildings into his ideology of the body. The interior and exterior of the church correspond in Shenoute's discourse with the general duality that equates interiority with the spirit and exteriority with matter. Thus "the purity and holiness of the church depend upon the people who gather within it. Polluting activities sever the monastery from the body of Christ and drive God out of the church" (p. 108). The methodological sophistication of the chapter is striking, and its evidence underscores the totalizing nature of the ideology of purity and pollution in Shenoute's thought. The final chapter, "Defending the Sanctity of the Body: Shenoute on the Resurrection," integrates Shenoute's ascetic ideology with his defense of Alexandrian orthodoxy. For Shenoute, the desire to purify the body drew on the positive understanding of the body as created by God and shared by his incarnate Son. The conclusion briefly reiterates the major points of the study and raises questions for further research and discussion.

The importance of this volume lies not least in its challenge to the commonly held view of Coptic Christianity as theologically derivative and uncreative. Shenoute emerges in this study as a creative theological thinker. His ideology of the communal ascetic life integrates biblical notions of prophecy,

purity, pollution, and sin into a complex and multifaceted program that weaves together varied layers of the “body:” the body of the individual monk, the social or corporate monastic body, the body of the church (interior and exterior), and the body of Christ. Similarly the author strikes new and important ground in uncovering the unique nature of Shenoute’s ideology over against that of the nearby and better known (outside of Egypt, at least) Pachomian federation. No longer can Shenoute’s monastic federation be understood as an offshoot or copy of the earlier Pachomian experiment. While it may have borrowed ideas and shared certain goals, it emerges in Schroeder’s study as a unique experiment, once again exposing the general tendency to oversimplify the past. Schroeder’s analysis of this difference has already begun to impact the study of Egyptian monasticism.

Forgotten and often ignored in the west, Shenoute emerges here as a figure to remember. This volume offers a superb introduction to him and his writings, and in the process opens the door to rethinking the origins and development of asceticism in Egypt. It is a must for libraries and serious students of Egyptian monasticism and Egyptian Christianity, as well as for those interested more generally in asceticism, concepts of the body, and sin.

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